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HERODOTUS

HISTORIES—BOOKS VII TO IX

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# HERODOTUS

## HISTORIES—BOOKS VII TO IX

TRANSLATED BY

G. WOODROUFFE HARRIS, B.A.

*Late Exhibitioner of Caius College, Cambridge*



London

SWAN SONNENSCHN & CO., LIM.

NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.

1907

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# HERODOTUS

## HISTORIES—BOOK VII

### POLYMNIA

I. WHEN the news of the defeat at Marathon reached Darius, son of Hystaspes, his anger, which had been not inconsiderable before, owing to the Athenian attack on Sardis, burst out more furiously than ever, and he was the more insistent on a campaign against Hellas. Straightway he despatched messengers throughout the cities, bidding them prepare contingents, and required from each a far larger following, both of ships, horses, and provisions. For three whole years Asia was in turmoil, gathering her noblest and her best for the invasion of Hellas. But in the fourth year, the Egyptians, who had been conquered by Cambyses, revolted from Persia. Whereat Darius became more determined to attack them as well.

II. While Darius was preparing his expeditions against Egypt and Hellas, a violent quarrel for supremacy arose among his sons, because, when the King marches out, he is bound by Persian law to designate his successor. Before he ascended the throne Darius had had three children by a former wife, the daughter of Gobryas, and by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, after his accession; there were yet four more. Of the former Artabazanes was the eldest, of the latter Xerxes. Seeing that they were not by the same mother, they quarrelled. Artabazanes supported his claim by stating that he was the eldest of the family, and that it is a universal custom for the eldest to succeed his father: Xerxes said that he was the son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, who had first bestowed freedom on the Persians.

III. Darius had as yet reached no decision, when at this juncture there arrived at Susa Demaratus, son of Ariston,

who had been made to abdicate the throne of Sparta, and had gone into voluntary exile. When he heard of the dissension among the children of Darius, he came, so the story goes, and gave Xerxes this advice. He was to add to his other arguments the fact that he was born while Darius was King and had supreme power over the Persians, but Artabazanes was practically the son of a private man. It was scarcely reasonable that another's claims could be preferred to his own, since in Sparta likewise, where sons are born before the father comes to the throne, and another son is born during the father's reign, the latter succeeds to the kingdom. Xerxes followed the advice of Demaratus, and Darius, recognising the justice of his arguments, designated him as successor. Even without this suggestion, I think Xerxes would have been king. Atossa's influence was paramount.

IV. After nominating Xerxes as King of the Persians, Darius prepared for his expedition. But a little later, during the year that followed the Egyptian revolt, death overtook Darius in the midst of his preparations, after a reign of six and thirty years, so that he was disappointed of his vengeance against the Athenians and Egyptians. The crown descended to Xerxes his son.

V. Xerxes was at first by no means eager to initiate a campaign against Hellas, but he gathered his forces for the reduction of Egypt. The most influential Persian at his court was Mardonius, son of Gobryas, the King's cousin, whose mother was a sister of Darius. He continually addressed Xerxes as follows:—"Sire, it is not fitting that the Athenians, who have so terribly outraged the Persians, should be permitted to go unscathed. Nevertheless, finish first the work you have in hand. After curbing the insolence of Egypt, march against Athens, that your fame be fair among men, and that no one afterwards dare to invade your realm." His thirst for vengeance was the motive underlying this speech: furthermore, he kept descanting upon the beauties of Europe, its various fruit-trees, its fertile soil, and its worthiness for the King alone.

VI. He spoke like this owing to the revolutionary nature of his mind, and because he wished to be governor of Hellas,

Eventually he succeeded, and inspired Xerxes with a desire to realise his plans. Many other circumstances contributed to this success. Messengers came from the Aleuadae in Thessaly, calling the Persians with extreme vehemence to take action against Hellas. The Aleuadae are Kings of Thessaly. Again, refugee descendants of Pisistratus came to Susa, and made a similar request, going even further in their eagerness than the Aleuadae. With them was Onomacritus, an Athenian, seer and interpreter of the oracles of Musaeus. They had laid aside their former enmity with the King, for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, because he was caught by Lasus, the Hermionian in the act of inserting among the oracles of Musaeus, one which predicted the disappearance into the sea of the islands round Lemnos. Wherefore Hipparchus banished him, though he had loved him much before. At Susa, whenever he was introduced into the King's presence at the solemn words of praise from the Pisistratidae, he recited a list of oracles ; if one referred to some possible misfortune for the barbarians, he omitted it, but enlarged on those that promised success, one, for example, which said that the Hellespont was to be yoked by a Persian, or another that described the march of the army. Thus Onomacritus ceased not to pour forth oracles, and the Pisistratidae and Aleuadae were for ever inciting the King to action.

VII. After deciding to march against Hellas, in the second year after the death of Darius he proceeded against the rebellious Egyptians. Them he reduced, and tightened the bonds of servitude for the whole country, more than his father had done. Then he put Achaemenes as governor—who was son of Darius and his own brother. Achaemenes was subsequently murdered by a Libyan called Inarus, son of Psammitichus.

VIII. After the submission of Egypt, Xerxes held a council of all his best warriors, having in mind his approaching campaign against Athens. He wished to hear their opinions, and to air his own.

(a) When they had arrived, Xerxes began : "Persians," he exclaimed, "I am introducing no innovations, but availing myself of custom I found already in use. I am

told by my councillors that ever since Cyrus overthrew Astyages, and the Median power passed into our hands, we have never been at rest. Heaven is our guide, and for ourselves, who do but follow, everything turns out for the best. I need not relate to you the glorious acquisitions of Cyrus, Cambyzes and Darius my father. Ever since I ascended this throne, it has been my earnest ambition not to be found wanting in this imperial policy of Persia, and behind my ancestors in great deeds. After reflection I find that not only will our fame be magnified but we shall acquire a land which is by no means diminutive or barren, but rich on the contrary, and at the same time exact the penalty due, Wherefore I have summoned you in order to lay before you my whole purpose.

(b) "After bridging the Hellespont I propose to lead my army through Europe against Hellas, in order to avenge Persia and my father Darius, because of the insults of the Athenians. You saw Darius intending to attack them, but death forestalled his accomplishment. On behalf of my father and all Persia, I will not go back until I have taken and burnt Athens, whose inhabitants so grievously outraged my father and myself. For they went to Sardis with Aristagoras the Milesian and our serf, and burnt the shrines and temples. Again, you all know how Datis and Artaphernes fared at their hands when they attacked Attic land.

(c) "For this reason I am ready to march against them, and I find the advantage to be on our side. If we subdue them and their neighbours, who dwell in the land of Pelops the Phrygian, heaven itself will be the boundary of the Persian empire. The sun will shine on no land contiguous to our own, for all lands will be mine, and throughout all Europe there will be but one land. I am told that when I have enslaved the towns I have mentioned, there will be no city or town under heaven which will venture to oppose us, when this people has been subdued. Thus innocent and guilty alike will feel our yoke on their necks.

(d) "In obeying me, you will please me. At the time appointed you must all hasten to assemble: he who comes with the finest following will be rewarded by gifts which are most highly prized among us. Act, therefore, well. To



prevent all appearance of self-contained reticence, I have left you the matter for discussion and permit any one of you to answer who chooses." With these words, he made an end of speaking.

IX. Then said Mardonius: "Sire, you are not only the mightiest Persian, according to the present judgment of men, but posterity will likewise acclaim this saying.

(a) "You have spoken nothing but the entire truth in all its gravity, and you will not permit these inferior Ionians who dwell in Europe to laugh us to scorn. It would be strange if, after subduing the Sacians, the Indians, the Æthiopians, the Assyrians and all the other peoples who have done us no harm, and reduced them to slavery by way of annexation, we should neglect to punish the Hellenes for the outrages they initiated. What have we to fear? What are their numbers? What is their wealth? We know that they are feeble. We know their method of warfare. We have subjugated their children who live in our land and are called Æolians, Dorians and Ionians. I myself have already had experience of them when I was sent by your father against them; I went as far as Macedonia and was but a short way from Athens, before anyone offered resistance.

(b) "Yet the Hellenes, I am told, war against each other without previous preparation in the blindness of their understanding. When they declare war on each other, they select the easiest and most level spot, at which they assemble and fight, so that victory is always purchased at a high price. The conquered are completely annihilated. Since they all speak the same tongue, why do they not employ heralds, and settle their differences by arbitration or any other way rather than by these bloody contests? If they must fight, they should choose the least accessible spot and there contend. Yet, ready as they are to engage in internecine struggles, they allowed me to reach Macedonia before they decided to offer resistance.

(c) "Sire, who is going to withstand you when you bring all your fleet and a multitude from Asia? The Hellenes have not the courage, I opine. If I err, and they do summon sufficient courage, and fight without foresight, they will dis-

cover that we are the finest warriors in the world. Let us abandon no means for attacking them. Nothing is done of itself, but everything in human affairs is the result of effort."

X. Thus Mardonius, after producing a milder form of Xerxes' speech, held his peace. While the other Persians remained silent and did not dare to offer counter arguments, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, uncle of Xerxes, on which relationship he relied, spoke to the following effect :—

(a) "Sire, without hearing the arguments on the other side, it becomes necessary to choose the suggested course. Just as the better gold ore is unrecognisable until it be rubbed with another piece of the same ore, so likewise when other opinions have been stated, we can judge the merit of the first. I advised your father, and my brother, not to campaign against the Scythians, a people who dwell in no city under heaven. He disregarded my advice and thought he would defeat them, with the result that he returned after a loss of many valuable troops. You are going to attack men who are far superior to the Scythians, whose reputation on sea and land is supereminent. Wherein lies their formidable character, I must here explain to you.

(b) "You say that after bridging the Hellespont you will conduct your army through Europe to Hellas. It may happen that we are defeated on land or sea, or even both. They have a name for great valour, which can be inferred from the fact that the Athenians unaided destroyed the great armament that attacked the shores of Attica with Datis and Artaphernes. They were successful only, of course, on land. But if they embark on their ships, win a sea fight and sail to the Hellespont, and there destroy the bridge, your position, my King, would be grievous.

(c) "I am not evoking this out of my inner consciousness ; I need only think of the disaster which well-nigh overwhelmed us, when your father threw a bridge across the Bosphorus, and crossed the Ister into Scythia. Thither came many Scythians begging the Ionians to destroy the bridge, for it had been left to them to guard. Then, had not Histiaeus of Miletus opposed the views of all the other tyrants, Persia's sun would have irretrievably set. How awful it is to think that the King's fate depended only on one man !

(d) "Do not therefore run unnecessarily into a danger greater than this. Be persuaded by me. Dismiss this assembly. Another time, after mature reflection and deliberation, make known to us your decision. Good deliberation is the finest thing on earth. If events turn out unfavourable, then our foresight is only the victim of bad luck. Want of deliberation may be followed by success, yet the actions have been suggested none the less by thoughtless impulse.

(e) "Think, too, how Heaven delights to cast down those who dominate in this world, and does not permit them to become exalted, while small things live unnoticed. Lightning, too, strikes down always the tallest houses and trees. Heaven loves to chastise the arrogance of the mighty. A great army has been cut off by a diminutive force, since Heaven sends a panic or a thunderbolt, and destroys them in an ignoble way. God permits no one save himself to think high thoughts.

(f) "Precipitation produces everywhere failure, and the consequences thereof are grievous. In cautious restraint is happiness, which one discovers later on, if not at first. Such is my advice, sire.

(g) "You, O son of Gobryas, cease your vain discourses about the Hellenes : they cannot be spoken of with scorn. By belittling the Hellenes, you are encouraging the king to march against them ; this is, I think, the object of all your zeal. Avoid it. Calumny is a terrible weapon : it is two handed, and the victim is but one man. It is unjust to calumniate when a man is absent, and equally unjust to listen to calumny until the truth be learnt. Thus he is doubly sinned against, being calumniated by the one and deemed a scoundrel by the other.

(h) "If you really will attack them, well and good, but let the king remain in Persia. After we both of us have given our children as hostages, do you, Mardonius, take the men you want and attack wherever you like. If at any place you announce success for the King, let my children be put to death, and let me suffer with them. But if the affair turns out as I predict, you and your children must suffer a similar fate, if, indeed, you return home at all. If, however, you refuse my conditions and yet desire to conduct the

campaign against Hellas, I maintain that those Persians who remain at Sardis will hear that Mardonius has brought great disaster to Persia, and has been mangled by dogs and vultures either on Athenian or Lacedemonian soil, if not of course on the road, and has recognised the valour of the men against whom he would persuade the King to march."

XI. Artabanus finished. Then Xerxes replied angrily : " Artabanus, you are my father's brother. This has saved you from condign punishment for your foolish words. Yet I give you this punishment for your cowardly spirit : you shall not come to Hellas with me but shall remain here with the women. I will do what I said without your assistance. I should be no son of Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsamēs, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Teispes, son of Achaemenes, if I did not take vengeance on the Athenians, knowing well that if we rest and do not attack them, they will attack us. Witness their action in invading Asia and burning Sardis. It is impossible to withdraw. We must conquer or fall, in order that either Persia or Hellas may become a world empire. Our hatred knows no compromise. It is but just that we should avenge our wrongs. I must find out if I shall be so ill-fated if I attack these servants of Pelops the Phrygian who was my father's serf, who reduced them so successfully that to this day they have borne the victor's name."

XII. Thus he spoke ; night came on and Xerxes brooded over the speech of Artabanus. Night brings counsel, and he decided not to march against Hellas. With this decision he fell asleep, and during the night, he is said to have seen a vision. A man of wondrous and beautiful stature seemed to stand by him and say : " Persian, have you repented of your design to attack Hellas after collecting your troops ? You are wrong to change : no one will agree with you in the matter : carry out your decision of the day." With these words he seemed to fly away, and the dawn appeared.

XIII. Xerxes took no heed of it, but called the Persian leaders together once more, and addressed them : " Pardon me, Persians, if my opinions appear vacillating. I have not yet reached that foresight which is most desirable, and they who advised that course, are perpetually at my elbow.



Yet when I heard the advice of Artabanus, my youthful blood boiled, and I spoke hastily unseemly words to an older man than myself. Now I recognise the excellence of his advice. Learn then that I have changed my mind. There will be no expedition against Hellas." When the Persians heard this, they prostrated themselves and rejoiced.

XIV. Again the night came on, and again the vision appeared to Xerxes after he had fallen asleep: "Son of Darius," it said, "how comes it that you have already announced to the Persians the abandonment of the expedition, without paying the slightest heed to my words? Understand, if you do not undertake the campaign, the fate which will overtake you. Mighty as you are, and speedy as has been your rise, you shall as speedily be abased."

XV. Xerxes was filled with fear by the vision: he jumped up from his bed and sent a messenger to summon Artabanus. "Artabanus," he began, "at first in my haste I said unworthy things to you in requital for your excellent advice. But I soon repented, and recognised that it was my duty to do as you suggested. Yet, against my will, I am unable to do this. After my opinion was changed, a vision appeared frequently to me, and censured me for this vacillation. It has just left me with grave menaces. If then Heaven has sent the vision, and God is pleased that Hellas should be invaded, this vision will likewise hover upon you, and give you the same command. I think this would come about if you put on my clothes and sat on my couch, and slept in my bed."

XVI. Thus spoke Xerxes, and though Artabanus did not obey the first command, on account of his unworthiness to sit on the royal couch, he at last yielded to pressure, after he had said:

(a) "My King, wisdom in counsel is no more honourable than docility in obeying the counsels of wisdom. Of the benefits accruing from the gifts you are deprived owing to evil communications of inferior men, even as the winds do not permit the sea which is the most universal and useful road for man, to be true to its own nature. My grief was not so bitter at being reviled by you, but because, there being but two courses suggested, one full of arrogance, the other



mild and attempting to restrain the covetous desires of the heart, you chose the more disastrous for yourself and the Persians.

(b) "Since, now, you have turned to the better, you say that a vision has visited you from Heaven, and forbids you to disband the forces. This, my child, had no divine origin. I will explain to you the vain nature of dreams and visions that visit mortal men, for I am many years older than you. The dreams that refer to incidents of the day most commonly hover round us. During the days that preceded your vision, we have discussed nothing but the projected expedition against Hellas.

(c) "But if there be really a divine origin, and not fallacious, you have rightly decided what must be done. Let it appear to me, and give me the same orders. Nevertheless, if it has the intention of coming, this will not be furthered by my wearing your garments, or by my sleeping elsewhere than in my own bed, if it really intends to visit me. It would not be such a simpleton, this vision of yours, to imagine that I were you merely because I had clothed myself in your robes. If it utterly declines to visit me, but prefers you, whether I wear your clothes or my own, this is a point for consideration. If it appears continually to you I will admit myself its divine origin. Shall we really make the attempt? You cannot avoid this? Must I then sleep in your bed? Good—when I have obeyed you, let it appear to me. At present I hold to my opinion."

XVII. Artabanus hoped to persuade Xerxes that the affair had no significance, by talking in this way. He put on the royal robes, sat on the royal couch, and when, after this, he retired to the royal bed, the same vision appeared likewise to him, and standing over Artabanus, said: "Are you the man who dissuaded Xerxes from attacking Hellas, on the plea of concern for his safety? But you will not succeed either now or in the future in putting off that which is decreed. What Xerxes will suffer if he disobey, has already been revealed to him."

XVIII. So menacing was the creature's aspect that Artabanus thought it wished to put out his eyes with hot irons. He shouted aloud, leaped up, and went to sit beside Xerxes,

and related to him the vision that he had seen. "My King," he cried, "already I have seen many great empires succumb before small kingdoms: I did not allow you, without resistance, to yield to the impulses of youth, knowing how evil a thing is covetousness, and calling to mind the ill-fated expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetae. Nor did I forget how Cambyses invaded the Æthiopians; I was with Darius when he attacked the Scythians. Knowing this, my opinion was that by being quiescent you would attain the apogee of human happiness. Yet since some divine inspiration bids you, and Heaven's displeasure is fated to overtake the Hellenes, I too alter my opinion. Tell the Persians of these manifestations from Heaven, and bid them prepare as had formerly been decided for the expedition. Omit nothing which will assist you to overthrow those whom Heaven delivers into your hand." At this, they were much encouraged by the vision, and as soon as day broke, Xerxes explained the matter to the Persians, and Artabanus, who had been alone in opposition, openly favoured the preparations.

XIX. While Xerxes was zealous in preparations, a third vision was seen which the Magi interpreted as predicting the complete subjugation of the whole world beneath the Persian yoke. I will set it down. Xerxes dreamt that he was crowned with an olive branch, and shoots from the olive covered all the earth; then suddenly the crown which encircled his head vanished. At this interpretation of the Magi, every Persian returned to his official post, and occupied himself in zealously carrying out his orders, wishing to receive the promised reward. Xerxes thus gathered an army together which he collected from all the corners of the continent.

XX. From the reduction of Egypt four years were occupied in preparation for the expedition, and its appendages; at the end of the fifth year, he began to march forward with a prodigious multitude. This is by far the greatest armament within my knowledge, and completely eclipses the campaign of Darius against the Scythians, or even that of the Scythians when, in pursuit of the Cimmerians, they attacked Media and occupied almost the whole of Upper Asia, for

which reason Darius endeavoured to obtain redress from them. Nor can it be compared with the famous army of the Atreidae against Troy, nor with that of the Mysians and Teucrians even before that campaign. They crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, subjugated all the Thracians, and penetrated to the Ionian Sea as far south as the River Peneius.

XXI. All those armaments together would not equal this single multitude led by Xerxes. What race did he not lead from Asia into Hellas? What stream did they not drink dry, save the large rivers? Some furnished ships, some infantry, others cavalry, others again transport vessels, others vessels for making bridges, others food and ships.

XXII. Moreover, since on the first occasion they had experienced disaster off Athos, preparation round this spot had been going on for three years. At Elaeon in the Chersonese rested a fleet of triremes, from which as a base they started and dug under the blows of the lash—men of all nations—by “shifts.” Even the dwellers round Athos were forced to dig. Bubares, son of Megabazus, and Artachaees, son of Artaeus, two Persians, directed the operations. Athos is a mighty and famous mountain, stretching down to the sea, and inhabitable. Where the mountain is connected with the mainland, it has the form of a peninsula, and the isthmus is about twelve stades. This is a plain with its low hills which extends from the sea by Acanthus to the Toronian Bay. On the isthmus at the extremity of Athos is the city Sane, built by the Hellenes; the cities of Athos beyond Sane, which the Persians wished to transform into islands, are Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, Cleonae. Such are the cities built on Athos.

XXIII. They dug in this way. The barbarians divided the country by nations, by drawing a straight line near the city of Sane. When the canal became deep, the workers who were right at the bottom proceeded with their excavations, while others passed on the soil excavated to others who were higher still, until it reached the top. The last took it and conveyed it away. With the exception of the Phoenicians, all had the labour doubled owing to the collapse of the sides of the canal, because they had made the bottom of the same width as the top. In these matters the

Phoenicians displayed their ingenuity in this way. When they took the part apportioned for them to dig, they gave the mouth a double breadth to that which they were going to give the bottom, and as the work went on, they lessened it continually so that at the end its width was in no way different to the others. Here too there was a meadow, and a market was established, where they exposed a quantity of Asian grain.

XXIV. After careful consideration, I conclude that Xerxes had this canal dug merely out of vaingloriousness, in order to exhibit his power, and leave some memorial of it behind. He could have drawn the vessels across the isthmus without much trouble: nevertheless he had a canal dug, which was filled by sea water and of a size sufficient to admit two triremes rowed abreast. These canal diggers were also commanded to bridge the River Strymon.

XXV. Such were the operations in this quarter. Elsewhere he collected cords of biblus and white linen for the bridges. He ordered the Egyptians and Phoenicians to bring provisions for the army, that neither men nor beasts should ever feel the pangs of hunger during the march on Hellas. Acting on investigations he told them to leave supplies at the most suitable spots, where it might be easy to bring food from all parts of Asia in merchantmen and transports. The largest stations were at Leuce Acte in Thrace, at Tyrodiza of the Perinthians, at Doriscus, Eion on the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. While they carried out these orders, the whole armament summoned by Xerxes proceeded with him to Sardis, starting from Critalla in Cappadocia. This was the appointed meeting-place for the land forces. I cannot say which leader received from the King the promised reward for the best-equipped contingent. I am in absolute ignorance whether any decision was made in the matter. The army, on crossing the Halys, traversed the whole of Phrygia, and reached Celaenae, where are the sources of the Maeander and of a river not inferior to the Maeander called Cataractes, which, springing up in the forum of Celaenae, discharges itself into the Maeander. In this city too can be seen hung up the skin of Silenus Marsyas, which, ac-



cording to the Phrygian tale, was flayed and suspended by Apollo.

XXVII. Waiting in this city too, Pythius, a Lydian, son of Atys, entertained the whole army most munificently, and Xerxes himself, and said too that he wished to make a contribution towards the expenses of war. Xerxes asked the attendant Persians who was this Pythius, and what riches he had to justify his making such an offer. They replied: "This is he, sire, who gave to your father, Darius, the golden vine and plane-tree. He is the richest man in the world after yourself."

XXVIII. Xerxes was astounded, and asked Pythius himself how rich he was. He replied: "Sire, I will hide nothing from you: I will not pretend that I do not know how rich I am, but will tell you all in detail. As soon as I heard that you were marching toward the Hellene Sea, I wished to provide some contribution towards the expedition, and I found on reckoning that I possessed two thousand talents of silver, and four million gold Darics, wanting seven thousand. This I present to you. I can live from my slaves and landed property." Xerxes was charmed with this discourse, and said:

XXIX. "Lydian stranger, since I passed through the Persian land, I have hitherto met no one who was so hospitable as to desire to offer hospitality to my army, or even who came of his own accord before me and said that he wished to make a contribution towards the war, save only yourself. You have feasted my army sumptuously, and you offer me an immense treasure. In return for this, I grant you three honours. I make you my friend, and complete the million staters by giving you seven thousand from my own purse. Keep what you have acquired: be yourself always—in acting as you do, you cannot regret it now, nor will you have cause to regret in the future."

XXX. He spoke, fulfilled his promise, and continued the march. After passing the Phrygian city called Anaua, and the lake from which salt is procured, they reached Colossae, a mighty city in Phrygia. Here the River Lycus flows into an abyss and is lost to sight. It reappears again about five stades away and flows into the Maeander. Leaving Colossae,



the army came to the Phrygian and Lydian mountains, to the city of Cydrara, where stood a column set up by Croesus to mark off the boundaries by means of an inscription.

XXXI. Crossing from Phrygia into Lydia, the road became forked, one way leading to Caria on the left, the other on the right to Sardis. If a man take this road, he is compelled to cross the Maeander and pass through the city of Callatebus, where honey is manufactured with wheat and the fruit of the tamarisk. On this road Xerxes found a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with ornaments of gold, and entrusted it to the care of a man belonging to the "Immortals." On the second day he reached the Lydian capital.

XXXII. On reaching Sardis, his first step was to send heralds to Hellas, to demand earth and water, and preparations for the support of the King and his army. He omitted to send, however, either to Lacedemon or to Athens. His reasons were these. All who had formerly refused to give earth and water to Darius, he thought would be frightened into giving it as others had done to Darius. Therefore he sent the heralds.

XXXIII. After this, he made ready to march on Abydos. Meanwhile a bridge had been thrown across the Hellespont, from Asia into Europe. Between the cities of Sestos and Madytus, there is a rocky shore projecting opposite Abydos, where not long after this, some Athenians under the command of Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, seized Artayctes the Persian governor of Sestos, and impaled him alive on a scaffold, because he had introduced women into the precincts of the shrine of Protesiles at Elaeon, and committed other sacrilegious acts.

XXXIV. It was precisely to this promontory that the Phoenicians on the one side using white linen, the Egyptians biblus, attached the bridge from Abydos, the distance between the city and the cape opposite it being seven stades. After the bridge had been fixed, a great storm arose, and completely destroyed it.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of it, he was wroth, and ordered the Hellespont to receive three hundred lashes, and a pair of fetters to be hurled into the sea. I have

been told too that he sent men with red-hot irons to brand the Hellespont. He told the floggers to pronounce this barbarous and impious discourse: "Bitter wave, my master imposes on you this penalty because, though he had done you no wrong, you have evilly entreated him. King Xerxes will cross you whether you will or no. Just it is that no man offers sacrifice to you, who are but a deceptive river of salt water." Thus he chastised the sea, and had the men who had superintended the work at the bridge forthwith executed.

XXXVI. Those to whom this mournful task was entrusted, performed it, while others went on with the work. Their method was this. They joined to one another the penteconters and triremes, using beneath the bridge on the side of the Euxine three hundred and sixty, and on the other three hundred and fourteen, obliquely from the direction of the Euxine, but straight as regards the Hellespont. This was to secure the assistance of the current to keep the cables taut. Then from the bridges, they let down long anchors on the Euxine side, on account of the winds that blow from within, and on the other side towards the west, to counteract the south and south-east winds from the Ægean Sea. They left three navigable passages between the two lines of vessels, in order that anyone who wished might be able to sail out to the Pontus and return thence. Then they stretched from the shore other cables, by means of capstans, no longer singly but made of two cords of linen, and four of biblus. These cables were all of the same size and finish, but, proportionately speaking, those of linen were the more solid, each cubit weighing one talent. When the ford was bridged, they sawed beams, equal in width to the bridge, and placed them in order upon the stretched cables, and after leaving no space between them, they fastened them firmly together. On the top of these beams they put brushwood, and on it earth. Lastly the earth was pressed down and on both sides was elevated a parapet, lest the animals should notice the sea and fear to cross.

XXXVII. When the bridge and canal across Athos had been completed, and the two bars at the entrance and mouth of the canal, which had been erected to prevent the ravages of

the tide, lest the mouth should become filled up, then, after wintering, the army marched at the beginning of spring from Sardis on the road to Abydos. Suddenly the sun vanished from the sky, though no clouds were to be seen, and night took the place of day. Xerxes saw it and was seized with disquietude. He asked the Magi for an interpretation of this phenomenon. They said that Heaven predicted to the Hellenes the destruction of their cities, observing that the sun announced the future for the Hellenes, the moon for the Persians. At this he rejoiced and continued the march.

XXXVIII. When the army was once more in motion, Pythius the Lydian, frightened by a portent, yet much encouraged by the gifts of Xerxes, came to him and spoke as follows :—"Sire, I wish a favour which will cost you nothing though it is very precious in my sight." Xerxes, thinking that he was going to ask something quite different, promised to humour him and told him to mention what he wanted. He became emboldened and said : "I have five sons, and all are marching with you to Hellas. Grant me, I beg you, seeing the age I have attained, that one, the eldest, may abide to look after me and my property. Take the other four, and may Heaven bring you safe back with all your desires fulfilled !"

XXXIX. Xerxes was furious and said : "Miserable creature, dare you, when I am going to Hellas with all my sons, relations and friends, dare you talk to me about your son, my serf, whose duty it is to follow me even as should your slaves and wife ? Know and realise that a man's temper depends much upon his ears. If he hear good things, his soul is filled with joy, but if he hear reverse, then anger rages within him. When you did what pleased me, and made suggestions that pleased me still more, you were able to boast that you had been more generous than the King. You have become impudent : your impudence shall have its reward; less, though, than you deserve. Your hospitality has saved you and your four sons. But the one whom you love too fondly must die." With these words he called some guards and bade them take the eldest of the sons of Pythius and cut him in half, placing one half on the right, the other on the left of the road on which the army was to march.

XL. They did this, and the army passed between the two halves. First came the baggage carriers and beasts of burden ; then a motley horde of mixed nations. They made up a little more than half the army, and an interval was left that they might not mix with the troops that escorted the King. First came a thousand horse, chosen out from all the Persians ; then a thousand spear-bearers, equally picked men, with the points of their spears lowered ; then the ten sacred Nisaeon horses, with magnificent trappings. The chargers are called Nisaeon for this reason : they are reared on a vast plain in Media which bears this name. Behind these sacred steeds rolled the chariot of Zeus, drawn by eight white horses, and behind them on foot a squire held the reins, for no mortal rode in the car. After this came Xerxes himself on a chariot drawn by Nisaeon horses. At his side walked his squire, Patiramphes, son of Otanes, a Persian.

XLI. In this order Xerxes marched out of Sardis, and stepped whenever he chose from his chariot into a carriage more suitable for journeying. Behind him marched a thousand of the noblest and bravest Persian spearmen, carrying their javelins erect. Then another chosen thousand of the Persian cavalry, and after them ten thousand men, likewise chosen out from the other Persians. They were on foot. A thousand of these carried, in the place of steel at the end of their spears, golden pomegranates, and surrounded the others. The remaining nine thousand carried pomegranates of silver. Those too, who marched with their spear-heads turned downwards, also carried golden pomegranates, while the immediate followers of Xerxes carried apples. After these footmen, came ten thousand horsemen. After them there was an interval of two stades, and then followed the rest of the army promiscuously.

XLII. The army took the road which leads from Lydia to the River Caicus and the Mysian land, and from the Caicus, keeping the mountain of Cane on the left, they passed through Atarneus to the city Carine. Thence they traversed the Theban plain, passing the city of Atramyttius, and Antandrus in the Pelasgis. Leaving Ida on the left, they entered the Ilian Plain. While they



halted for the night by Ida a thunderstorm took place and quite a number were killed by the lightning.

XLIII. When the army arrived at the Scamander, the first river since their departure from Sardis, its volume was not sufficient to give drink to man and beast. Here Xerxes was filled with a desire to see the city of Priam, and he ascended to the Pergamon of Priam. After gazing at it, and being told all its history, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to Athene of Ilium, and the Magi poured libations to the heroes at his bidding. The following night a terrible panic came over the army. At daybreak they continued the journey, keeping Roetoeon, Ophryneion, and Dardanon on the left, which is the boundary end of Abydos, and on the right the Gergithian Teucrians.

XLIV. After reaching Abydos, Xerxes wished to review the whole army. On an eminence a marble throne had been already set up for him—this had been done by the men of Abydos owing to a previous order from the King—then, when he took his seat, gazing all round upon the shore, he contemplated in admiration the fleet and the army, and when he had looked his fill, he wished to see a naval battle. This took place and the Phoenicians from Sidon were successful, whereat he was enchanted with the spectacle and the army.

XLV. Since the whole of the Hellespont was hidden from sight by the ships, and all the shores and plains of Abydos were covered with men, Xerxes expressed his joy, and then burst into tears.

XLVI. Artabanus, his uncle, who had at first declared his disagreement with the proposed attack on Hellas, noticed this and asked Xerxes why he wept. "Sire, how soon your mood changes! A moment ago you declared yourself happy, now you weep." He replied: "While I was gazing, compassion entered my heart, and I reflected upon the short span of man's existence, that not one from all these numbers will reach his hundredth year." Artabanus answered: "That is not the saddest feature of our existence. Even in this short space of life, no man is so blessed by fortune that he would not many times desire to die rather than cling to life. Misfortunes come, diseases

arise : they seem to lengthen this short life of ours. Death is often the pleasantest haven after a life of turmoil, and Heaven is often jealous of the pleasure which we have been permitted to taste in life."

XLVII. To which Xerxes replied : " Let us abandon this discussion about life in general : it is indeed as you say, but while we have within our grasp a particular happiness, let us not think of sorrow. Answer me. If the vision had not appeared so clearly to you, would you have continued in your old opinion that I ought not to march on Hellas, or would you have changed it ? Tell me truly." Artabanus said : " May the success, which we both long for, follow the dream that you dreamt so clearly. For my part, I am apprehensive, and I go about in disquietude of mind, I reflect on many things, and have discovered two which will be hostile to you."

XLVIII. " Artabanus, my good fellow," said Xerxes, " what are these two dangers ? Is my infantry to be censured on numerical grounds ? Will the Hellene force, think you, be greater ? Will our fleet be inferior to theirs, or will our forces both on land and sea be feeble ? If you think we are deficient, we must collect another army somewhere with all expedition."

XLIX. Artabanus' answer was this : " No one, sire, could find fault with the army or navy so far as concerns numbers. If you levy another one, these dangers will be enhanced, not diminished. The two are, land and sea. There is, I believe, no harbour sufficiently large to receive your whole fleet if a storm arise, and protect your ships. But we want not only one, but many all along the coast. Without harbours, you must realise the saying that circumstances control men, not men circumstances. And now I will explain the second. Consider the nature of a hostile land. Though she attack you not at first, the farther you advance, the more hostile she becomes : she will ever deceive you and lure you on, for man is insatiable of success. Though no one oppose your march, length of time and length of journey will produce famine. Man's chief merit is to display boldness in action with deliberation and foresight in counsel, counting well beforehand the cost of his action."



XL. Xerxes answered : “ Artabanus, you have adequately expressed your views on these two points. Do not, however, be apprehensive, and do not investigate everything from the same point of view. If on every occasion you consider all the possibilities of misfortune, you would never do anything. It is better to have dared and suffered perhaps the half of possible misfortunes, than never to have dared through fear. If, in offering objections to every proposition, you have no satisfactory suggestion to make, you are bound to fail, and bring failure on him whose hopes you have destroyed. Your end will be similar. How can a mortal ever arrive at certainty ? I think, never. Fortune favours the brave, but faint hearts win no rewards. You know on what pinnacle stands the fortune of Persia. Had my royal ancestors listened to such advice as yours, if, without agreeing, they had counsellors such as you have shown yourself to be, Persia would not now be at its zenith. But through perils only are great enterprises accomplished, and they risked everything for Persia. Let us follow their example, and march at the fairest season of the year, and after subduing Hellas, let us return home, without having suffered famine or any other of the terrors of war. We march with a full commissariat, and whenever we find a crop, we will take it from the lands and peoples which we invade. We are moving not on nomads, but on agriculturists.”

LI. Then answered Artabanus : “ Since you allow no apprehensions, and no desire to abandon the expedition, let me give one more piece of counsel. It is always well to discuss fully any project. Cyrus, son of Cambyses, made all the Ionians, save only the Athenians, tributary to Persia. By no means whatever, I advise you, induce these people to fight against their fathers. Without Athens, we should easily be superior to our enemy. Indeed, if these colonists obey you, they must either be the wickedest men on earth, to join in the destruction of their mother city, or the most just, if they free her from servitude. If they show themselves wicked, it will profit us little : if just, they may seriously harm your army. Consider and reflect in your heart upon the old saying, ‘ One cannot see both the beginning and the end at the same time.’ ”

LII. Xerxes replied : " In the opinions which you have expressed, your principal error is this. You fear that the Ionians will desert, though we have the greatest proof to the contrary, of which you and those who campaigned with Darius were eye-witnesses. It was in their power to destroy Persia utterly. Then they showed their fidelity, not treachery. Moreover, they have left in our power children, and wives, and property, and it is scarcely likely that they will rebel. Fear nothing in this quarter : be of good cheer, assist in the preservation of my house and authority. To you alone I entrust my sceptre."

LIII. With this Xerxes sent Artabanus back to Susa, and again summoned the noblest Persians. " Persians," said he, " I have summoned you to exhort you to acquit yourselves like men and in no way disgrace the glorious and famous deeds of the Persians in old time. Let us all, individually and collectively, display our zeal ; our object is a common object. I call on you to dedicate to this war all your abilities. I am told that we are marching against brave men, and when we have conquered them, no other army in the world will be able to withstand us. Let us cross the sea, after praying to our country's gods who protect our land."

LIV. On this day they made ready for the crossing : on the next day, they waited impatiently for sunrise, burning on the road various incense, and strewing the bridge with branches of tamarisk. When the sun rose, Xerxes, pouring a libation from a golden cup into the sea, prayed to the sun to guard him from all misfortune, until he should have subdued Europe, and reached its farthest boundaries. After praying he cast the cup into the Hellespont with a golden mixing bowl, and a Persian sword, called by them a scimitar. I cannot say whether he threw these objects into the sea because he had consecrated them to the sun, or if he repented of having had the Hellespont flogged, and was making a peace-offering.

LV. After doing this, the foot and cavalry crossed on the farther of the bridges, on the side of the Pontus, while on the other, on the *Ægean* side, went the baggage animals and attendants. Ten thousand Persians led the cavalcade

with crowns on their heads, and after them came the motley horde of mingled nations. This occupied one day. On the next day came the cavalry and the infantry with down-turned spear points. They too wore crowns. Then came the sacred horses and the chariot, followed by Xerxes, the spearmen and a thousand horsemen, to whom succeeded the rest of the army. The fleet put out to the opposite shore. I have been told that the King crossed last of all.

LVI. Arrived in Europe, Xerxes watched his men being flogged along. The army crossed in seven days, and seven nights, without cessation. After Xerxes crossed the Hellespont, a Hellespontine is reported to have said this : " Zeus, why under the garb of a Persian, and under the name of Xerxes, have you brought all the world to destroy Hellas ? You could have done it without all this trouble."

LVII. When all had crossed, and they were preparing to march, a mighty portent occurred, which Xerxes ignored, though it was easy to understand. A mare dropped a hare, from which it was easy to infer that Xerxes was about to bring against Hellas a mighty and spectacular army, but that he would be forced to run back to save himself. While he was in Sardis too, another portent had occurred. A mule dropped a hermaphroditic foal, though the male organs were above the female.

LVIII. Both these portents he disregarded, and proceeded on his journey with the foot. The fleet, outside the Hellespont, sailed along the shore, taking the contrary course to the army. It was sailing westward to a point off the shore of Sarpedon, where they had been ordered to mobilise, and await the King's arrival. The land army marched eastward towards the sunrise across the Chersonese, keeping on the right the grave of Helle, daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city of Cardia, and traversed a city called Agora. Thence, turning the Gulf of Melas, they reached the River Melas, where water, instead of satisfying the army, was entirely absent. They crossed this river from which the gulf is named, and turned westward, passing the Æolian city of Ænus and the harbour of Stentoris, until Doriscus was reached.

LIX. Doriscus is a shore, and mighty plain of Thrace,

through which the great Hebrus flows. Here was erected a royal fort called Doriscus, and a garrison of Persians was stationed there by Darius, ever since his campaign against the Scythians. Here Xerxes considered was a favourable spot for marshalling and numbering the army. He did it in this way. At the order from Xerxes, the captains who had brought all the ships which had come to Doriscus, came down to the nearest part of the shore, where stood Samothracian Sale and Zone, the point being itself Serrhion, a famous promontory. This land belonged of old to the Ciconians. Here the Persians beached their ships and let them dry. Meanwhile the army was being numbered at Doriscus.

LX. I cannot exactly tell the numbers furnished by each nation because there is no record of it. The total number of the foot is put at one million, seven hundred thousand. They employed this method. Into a spot ten thousand men were collected, packing them as closely as possible. A circle was then drawn round them, whereat the ten thousand left it, and on the line they built a wall of a height reaching to a man's waist. Then they made others enter the circle, until all had been counted in this way. After being numbered, they were ranged according to nationality.

LXI. I will now relate the nature of their accoutrement. The Persians wore on their heads tiaras, as they call them ; a soft hat ; on their bodies sleeved tunics of various colours, made of multitudinous iron links, somewhat resembling fish scales. On their legs they wore loose trousers, and instead of a shield, a buckler of wicker-work, under which hung their quivers. They carried short spears, long bows, arrows of reed, swords buckled to their right side, resting on the right thigh. Otanes, father of Amestris, Xerxes' wife, commanded them. They used to be called Cephenians by the Hellenes, but they called themselves Artaeans as do their neighbours. When Perseus, son of Zeus by Danae, came to Cepheus, son of Belus, he took his daughter Andromeda to wife and had by her a son called Perses, whom he left in this country. Cepheus now happened to have no male children. From Perses the people took their name.

LXII. The Median dress was similar—the fashion in fact is Median, not Persian. The Medes were commanded by



Tigranes, an Achaemenid, and were once universally called Arians, but when Medea the Colchian came from Athens to these Arians, they changed their name. Such is the Median version. The Cissians resembled the Persians in every respect, save that instead of tiaras, they wear mitres. They were under the command of Anaphes, son of Otanes. The Hyrcanians were armed in Persian fashion under the command of Megapanus, the subsequent governor of Babylon.

LXIII. The Assyrians wore brazen helmets, interlaced according to some barbaric scheme, which it is impossible to describe. They carried shields, spears, and short swords resembling the Egyptians, and had in addition clubs of wood weighted with iron, and linen breastplates. They are called Syrians by the Hellenes, but Assyrians by the barbarians. Among them marched the Chaldaeans, with their leader Otaspes, son of Artachaeus.

LXIV. The Bactrians wore a headdress very like the Median; they carried arrows made of indigenous reeds and short spears. The Sacians, of Scythian blood, wore on their heads hard, stiff tiaras, ending in a point; loose trousers, native-made arrows, swords, and likewise axes, which are called sagaris. They are Scythian Amyrgians, but are called Sacians; in fact, the Persians call all the Scythians, Sacians. The Bactrians and Sacians were led by Hystaspes, son of Darius and Atossa, daughter of Cyrus.

LXV. The Indians had on cotton garments, and carried reed bows and reed arrows, with iron tips. They marched with Pharnazathras, son of Artabates.

LXVI. The Arians carried Median bows, but were in other respects as the Bactrians. They were led by Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians and Dadicians were armed like the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians were led by Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, the Sogdians by Azanes, son of Artaeus, the Gandarians and Dadicians by Artyphius, son of Artabanus.

LXVII. The Caspians wore goatskins, carried native-made bamboo bows and scimitars. Ariomardus, brother of Artyphius, was in command. The Sarangians were conspicuous owing to the colour of their garments. They wore

sandals which reached to the knee, and Median bows and spears. They were led by Pherendates, son of Megabazus. The Pactyians, clothed in like fashion, carried native bows and swords: their chief was Artyntes, son of Ithamatus.

LXVIII. The Outians, Mycians, Paricanians were dressed even as the Pactyians. The leaders of these were Arsamenes, son of Darius, and Siromitres, son of Œobazus.

LXIX. The Arabians wore mantles fastened at the waist. In their right hands were long, backward-curved bows. The Æthiopians, covered with leopard and lion skins, carried bows made of palm branches, at least four cubits in length, on which they placed reed arrows, tipped with a sharpened stone, on which they engrave their seal. Then they had spears, pointed with the sharpened horns of an antelope, and weighted clubs. Half of their body was smeared with plaster, half with vermilion. The Arabians and the Æthiopians who dwelt beyond Egypt were led by Arsames, son of Darius by Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved most of all his wives, and had made a statue of her in gold.

LXX. The Eastern Æthiopians—they marched apart—were dressed like the Indians, being in no way different in appearance to the other Æthiopians, but in speech and hair. The Eastern Æthiopians are straight-haired, but those from Libya have the curliest hair in the world. The Æthiopians from Asia were in most points dressed as the Indians, but they wore on the heads the skin of the forehead of a horse, torn off with the ears and mane. The flowing mane took the place of a crest, and the ears of the horse stood up straight. They carried in front of them skins of cranes by way of bucklers.

LXXI. The Libyans were clothed in leather, and had javelins hardened in the fire. Massages, son of Oarizus, led them.

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore mailcoat helmets, short shields and spears, likewise javelins and swords, and on their feet native sandals which reached half way up their legs. The Ligyians, Matienians, Mariandynians, and Syrians were clothed like the Paphlagonians. These



Syrians are called Cappadocians by the Persians. Dotus, son of Megasidrus, commanded the Paphlagonians and Matienians, Gobryas, son of Darius and Artystone, the Mariandynians, Lygians and Syrians.

LXXIII. The Phrygians very much resembled the Paphlagonians. They were called, so the Macedonians say, Brigians all the time that they dwelt in Europe, and were neighbours of the Macedonians. On crossing into Asia, they changed their name and country simultaneously. The Armenians were as the Phrygians, being colonists of the latter. All of these were under Artochmes, who married the daughter of Darius.

LXXIV. The Lydian equipment most resembled the Hellene. The Lydians were anciently called Meionians, but in the reign of Lydus, son of Atys, they changed their name. The Mysians wore native helmets on their heads, small shields, javelins hardened in the fire. They are colonists of the Lydians, and from Mount Olympus are called Olympians. The Lydians and Mysians were under Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, who landed at Marathon with Datis.

LXXV. The Thracians had foxskins on their heads; on their chitons variegated mantles; on their feet and calves, sandals of deerskin; they carried javelins, bucklers and short swords. On crossing into Asia they were called Bithynians, but formerly, it is said, were named Strymonians, because they lived on the Strymon. They were expelled from their land, so it is said, by the Teucrians and Mysians. The Asiatic Thracians were commanded by Bassaces, son of Artabanus.

LXXVI. Others wore little bucklers of raw cowhide: each carried darts of Lycian workmanship. On their heads were bronze helmets. In front of these were fastened the horns and ears of an ox made in bronze. They had crests likewise. Their legs were covered by rolls of tyrian-dyed material. This people have an oracle of Ares.

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meionians, called also Lasonians, were clothed like the Cilicians, which dress I will explain later when I describe the Cilicians. The Milyians carried short spears, and wore clothes fastened by buckles.

Some of them carried Lycian bows : on their heads were helmets of hide. They were all led by Badres, son of Hystanes.

LXXVIII. The Moschians wore wooden helmets, and carried shields and short spears. The points were long. The Tibarenians, Macronians, Mosynoecians resembled the Moschians. Their leaders were Ariomardus, son of Darius by Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and Artayctes, the son of Cherasmis, who governed Sestos in the Hellespont.

LXXIX. The Marians wore native-woven helmets, carried small shields of hide, and javelins. The Colchians had wooden helmets, small shields of ox-hide, short spears, and swords. Pharandates, son of Teaspes, commanded them both. The Alarodians, and Saspirians resembled the Colchians. Masistius, son of Siromitres, was in command.

LXXX. The island nations who had come from the Erythraean Sea, and the islands where the King banishes the criminals, carried clothes and arms very similar to the Median fashion. Mardontes, son of Bagaeus, commanded them ; he subsequently died two years after at the battle of Mycale.

LXXXI. These were the nations who formed the land army and were marshalled in the plain. I have already named the chiefs who organised and numbered them, dividing them into divisions of ten thousand, a thousand, and hundreds and tens. Other officers, natives, were attached to each contingent, but they obeyed the officers I have mentioned.

LXXXII. The commanders-in-chief were Mardonius, son of Gobryas ; Tritanoechmes, son of Artabanus, who had disapproved of the invasion of Hellas ; Smerdomenes, son of Otanes, both the latter being children of the brothers of Darius ; Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa ; Gergis, son of Arizus ; Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus.

LXXXIII. Such were the commanders of the foot army, excepting the ten thousand. These ten thousand chosen Persians were under the command of Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes, and were called "The Immortals." If any of them died or were slain, the number was always made up,

and thus they were never more and never less than ten thousand. Their equipment was the finest in the whole Persian army, and they were the bravest warriors. They had the ordinary dress I have described, but shone brilliantly with a wealth of golden ornaments. They brought chariots for journeying, in which they conveyed about their concubines, household servants and other appendages. Camels and baggage animals carried their food, apart from the rest of the army.

LXXXIV. These nations possess horsemen, yet not all supply horses; only those whom I shall mention. The Persians first, whose dress resembles that of the infantry except for the fact that some of them wore plates of bronze or iron.

LXXXV. There are some nomads called Sagartians, who are of Persian race and speak the Persian tongue, but their equipment is something between the Persian and the Pactyician. They provided eight thousand horse: they use no arms of bronze or iron, but thongs of woven hide. Armed with these, they go out to fight. Their method of fighting is this: when they join with the enemy, they throw their rope, at the end of which is a noose. Whenever they catch a horse or man, they draw their captive to them, and thus strangle them. Such is their method of combat; they were incorporated with the Persians.

LXXXVI. The Median cavalry was armed even as the infantry: the Cissians were armed on similar lines. The Indians differed in no way from their foot: they used saddle horses and chariots. The chariots were drawn by horses and wild asses. The same can be said of the Bactrian and Caspian cavalry as I said before of their infantry: so too the Libyans. The Paricanians differed in no way from the Caspians. Similarly the Arabians, who rode camels as swift as horses.

LXXXVII. These were the only mounted nations: the cavalry were eighty thousand in number, excluding camels and chariots. The cavalry were arranged in squadrons, though the Arabians were ranged separately. They came last because horses cannot bear the sight of camels.

LXXXVIII. They were all under the command of Ar-

mamithres and Tithaeus, sons of Datis. The third commander, Pharnuches, had been left behind ill at Sardis. As they were starting from Sardis, an unlooked-for misfortune befell him. While he was on horseback, a dog ran between his horse's legs. The horse was frightened, reared up, and threw Pharnuches, who after his fall began to spit blood, and straightway developed consumption. His servants punished the horse as he bade them. They led it to the place where it had thrown him, and cut off its legs at the knee. Thus Pharnuches lost his command.

LXXXIX. The triremes numbered one thousand two hundred and seven, and were supplied by the following nations :—Phoenicians and the Syrians from Palestine contributed three hundred. The men wore helmets of an almost Hellene type, linen breastplates, and carried shields without a rim, and javelins. These Phoenicians, it is said, once dwelt by the Erythraean Sea, and crossed from that spot to occupy the coast of Syria. This portion of Syria and the district as far as Egypt is called Palestine. The Egyptians sent two hundred. These seamen wore mailwork helmets, and carried concave shields with large rims, pikes for naval warfare and heavy axes. The majority of them had breastplates, and carried long swords.

XC. From the Cyprians came a hundred and fifty triremes. Their kings wore mitres on their heads ; the ordinary men wore chitons, and in other respects resembled the Hellenes. They are composed of several nations : some from Salamis and Athens ; others from Arcadia, others from Cythnus, others from Phoenicia and Æthiopia. This is the Cyprian story. The Cilicians sent a hundred.

XCI. They had on their heads native helmets, carried small bucklers of cowhide, and wore tunics of wool. Each carried two javelins and a sword, somewhat resembling the Egyptian weapon. They were once known as Hypachaeans, but in the time of Cilix, son of Agenor the Phoenician, they took his name. The Pamphylians sent thirty triremes : they all wore Hellene armour. They are descended from the men who were driven from Troy with Amphilochous and Calchas.

XCII. The Lycians sent fifty : they wore breastplates

and greaves, and carried bows of cornel wood, unwinged arrows of bamboo, and javelins. Goatskins covered their shoulders : on their heads were crowns of feathers. They had also short swords and scythes. The Lycians were called Termilae, being of Cretan origin, but took from Lycus, son of Pandion, an Athenian, their subsequent name.

XCIII. The Asiatic Dorians contributed thirty. They are an offshoot from the Peloponnese and wore Hellene armour. The Carians sent seventy : they differed only from the Hellenes owing to the fact that they carried short swords and scythes. I have before explained their original name.

XCIV. The Ionians were responsible for a hundred, and they were armed even as the Hellenes. The Ionians, during the time that they inhabited that district in the Peloponnese now known as Achaea, and anterior to the advent of Danaus and Xouthus to the Peloponnese, were called Ægialian Pelasgians, as the Hellenes maintain, but after Ion, son of Xouthus, were named Ionians.

XCV. The islanders sent seventeen vessels and were armed as the Hellenes. They too are of Pelasgian descent, but were afterwards called Ionian for the same reason as that which gave the name to the twelve cities colonised from Athens. The Æolians sixty : Hellene equipment. They too, as the Hellene story relates, were also Pelasgians. The Hellespontines, with the exception of the inhabitants of Abydos—they had been ordered by the King to remain as guardians of the bridge—and the other Pontine colonists, one hundred : Hellene equipment. They are all colonists of Ionian or Dorian descent.

XCVI. The crews of all the ships were composed of Persians, Medes, and Sacians. The best sailing vessels came from the Phoenicians, and best of the Phoenicians were the Sidonians. As in the case of the army, they were all under the command of native chiefs, whose names I will not mention, since they are quite irrelevant to my story. There were as many of them as there were cities belonging to their respective nations, but they are not worthy of mention. They served too not so much in the capacity of leaders, but



of petty officers. I have mentioned the generals who were Persians, and did indeed possess supreme authority.

XCVII. The admirals were these: Ariabignes, son of Darius; Prexapses, son of Aspathines; Megabazus, son of Megabates; Achaemenes, son of Darius. The Ionian and Carian contingent was under Ariabignes, son of Darius and the daughter of Gobryas, the Egyptians under Achaemenes, own brother to Xerxes, and the other two commanded the remainder. Thirty-oared ships, fifty-oared ships, schooners, horse transports—the total reached three thousand.

XCVIII. The most famous captains were: Tetramnestus, son of Anysus, a Sidonian; Matten, son of Siromus, a Tyrian; Merbalus, an Aradian, son of Agbalus; Syennesis, son of Oromedon, a Cilician; Cyberniscus, a Lycian, son of Sicas; Gorgos, son of Chersis; Timonax, son of Timagoras—Cyprians; Histiaeus, son of Tymnes; Pigres, son of Seldomus—Carians; and lastly Damasithymus, son of Candaules, of like nationality.

XCIX. I do not feel compelled to mention the names of the other captains; yet I cannot pass over in silence Artemisia, whom I admire for joining the campaign against Hellas. After the death of her husband, being regent and guardian of her son, she fought with masculine courage without being compelled to share in the expedition at all. She was called Artemisia, and was the daughter of Lygdamis, her father being of Halicarnassus, her mother from Crete. She ruled the Halicarnassians, Coans, Nisyrians and Calyd-nians, and came with five ships. Her vessels were the most remarkable in the whole fleet, with the exception of the Sidonians, and she of all the allies gave the wisest counsel to the King. I have mentioned the cities over which she ruled: it now remains to state that their descent was Dorian, the Halicarnassians being from Troezen and the others from Epidaurus. I have sufficiently dilated on the fleet.

C. After the army had been ranged and numbered, Xerxes wished to pass through the ranks personally and inspect them. Wherefore, he mounted his chariot and examined each nation, asking them all questions, while scribes copied down their answers, until he had gone from



end to end and seen all the infantry and horsemen. After this, the ships were put out to sea. Then Xerxes left his chariot and embarked on a Sidonian vessel, where he sat beneath a golden awning, and was rowed past the prows of the ships. In like manner he questioned the crews and wrote down their answers even as he had done with the army. The captains then retired to a distance of four plethra from the shore, and then wheeled round, and cleared their decks for action : meanwhile the King looked on, sailing between the shore and their prows.

CI. After sailing past the ships and disembarking, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was accompanying him, and spoke to him thus. " Demaratus, it is my wish that you should enlighten me on a point. You are a Hellene, and as I have heard from you and other Hellenes who are with me, you come from a city that is by no means weak or negligible. Answer me : Will the Hellenes dare to resist me ? I do not think that if the Hellenes and all the Western nations were assembled, they could withstand me, owing to inferiority of numbers. I wish to hear your opinion on the matter." Thus he questioned, and Demaratus replied : " Shall I speak the truth, sire, or shall I say only what will please you ? " The King told him to speak the truth, explaining that he would lose none of the royal favour for so doing.

CII. Then said Demaratus : " Since you desire the truth, and to prevent myself being subsequently proved a liar, you must know that Poverty and Hellas march hand in hand : to them is joined Valour, which is the child of Wisdom and stablished Law. Thanks to her valour, Hellas fights vigorously against poverty and tyranny. I admire indeed all the Hellenes who dwell in Dorian territory, but my remarks will apply not universally but to the Spartiatae in particular. They firstly will never fall in with your design of enslaving Hellas, and they will oppose you alone even if the other Hellenes do otherwise. Do not imagine that their number is any indication of their strength. If they march out a thousand strong, they will always fight whether they be more or less numerous."

CIII. Then said Xerxes with a laugh : " What an ab-

surdity ! A thousand men to oppose my beautiful army ! Come now, tell me, you were once their king. Would you yourself straightway fight against ten men ? If each of your fellow-citizens be such as you describe, and you were their king, you ought to be able to withstand twenty of my men. If each of them is worth ten of mine and you are their king, you must be worth twenty on the same reckoning. Then we shall believe your remarks. But if you are all the same size as you are and the other Hellenes whom I have met, take care that you have not uttered an idle boast. Consider the probabilities of the case. How could a thousand, ten thousand, or fifty thousand undisciplined and ungoverned men compare with this army ? We should be a thousand to one if they brought five thousand into the field against us. Were they, according to our ancient laws, governed by one man, they might fight more valiantly, for fear of their master and with the judicious use of the whip, even against a force their superior in numbers. Being free agents, your men would do neither. I think too, that even on equal terms, the Hellenes would have some difficulty in fighting the Persians alone. What you mention exists not among the army as a whole, but can be found with picked men. There are Persians in my body-guard who would fight three to one against the Hellenes. You have never experienced this and have really been talking nonsense."

CIV. Whereat Demaratus replied : " Sire, I knew from the beginning that the truth would not find favour in your eyes. Yet you compelled me to tell the truth, and I said what I knew of the Spartiatae. You know, however, any motives I might have for favouring them, since they drove me out of my kingdom and deprived me of my father's rights, and it was your father who received me and gave me food and a habitation. It is scarcely to be expected that a wise man will ill requite kindness. I will not promise to fight ten or two men, since I do not now propose to fight one. Yet if it were a case of necessity, if some great motive urged me, I would fight willingly any one of your men who, you say, is equal to three Hellenes. Singly, the Lacedaemonians are a match for anyone ; collectively they are the

most valiant in the world. If they are free, it is not the freedom that means licence : their one master is the law, which they fear more than your subjects fear you. The law's commands are obeyed. It bids them flee before the face of no multitude of men, but hold their ground until they are victorious or have perished nobly. If this seems to you absurd, I will for ever hold my peace. I have spoken, as you bid me, may the issue find favour in your sight."

CV. So he spoke and Xerxes again laughed, being vastly amused, and dismissed him kindly. After this conversation, the King made Mascames, son of Megadostes, governor in Doriscus, removing the officer appointed by Darius. Then he pushed on with his army through Thrace until he reached Hellas.

CVI. In the person of Mascames, we have the only man to whom Xerxes habitually sent presents as being the bravest man that either he or Darius had established as governor. This kindness was continued for the descendants of Mascames by Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. Even before this invasion, governors had been set up in Thrace and the Hellespont ubiquitously. After the return of the army all, with the exception of the governor of Doriscus, were expelled from their commands. Mascames could never be made to leave Doriscus, though many tried. There he received these presents from the King continually.

CVII. Of the governors driven out by the Hellenes, there was but one to whom Xerxes gave credit as being a brave man. His name was Boges, and he came from Eion. He never ceased his eulogies of this man, and loaded his children with presents, who still lived in Persia, since Boges was worthy of all praise. He, on being besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, son of Miltiades, when it was possible for him to retreat under a truce and return to Asia, refused, lest he should appear a coward before the King, and endured to the end. When all food in the fort was gone, he built a mighty pyre, slew his children, wife, concubines and slaves, and threw them on to the fire. Then he collected all the gold and silver from the city and hurled it into the Strymon, and lastly jumped himself into the flames. Even to this day is he held in remembrance by the Persians,

CVIII. From Doriscus Xerxes continued his march into Hellas, subduing all he met and incorporating them in his army. I have already explained how all the land as far as Thessaly had been subjugated and made tributary during the expedition of Megabazus and afterwards of Mardonius. First, after leaving Doriscus, he passed by the forts of Samothrace, the last of which, towards the setting sun, is called Mesambria. Near to this is Stryma, which belongs to the Thasians, and through the midst of which flows the River Lissus. This river at that period had not sufficient water to supply the army of Xerxes, and was consequently dried up. This district of old was called Gallaice, but it is now known as Briantice. Nevertheless, to speak the truth, it belongs to the Ciconians.

CIX. Beyond the dried-up bed of the Lisus, the army passed by Maroneta, Dicaia, and Abdera, all Hellene towns : it passed also the famous lakes of Ismaris, between Maroneia and Stryme, and Bistonis by Dicaia, into which two rivers discharge their waters, the Trauus and the Compsatus. Near Abdera there is no lake worthy of mention : Xerxes had merely to cross the River Nestus, which flows into the sea. Past these cities, he went by the continental towns, one of which contains a lake thirty stades in circumference, full of fish and briny withal. The baggage animals alone drank therefrom, and drank it dry. The city is called Pistyrus. The army left these cities on the left ; they are all on the coast and belong to the Hellenes.

CX. I now give an enumeration of the peoples through which he passed : Paetians, Ciconians, Bistonians, Sapaeans, Dersaeans, Edonians, Satrians. The coastlanders of these countries embarked on the fleet : those who lived inland were made to follow the army, with the exception of the Satrians.

CXI. The Satrians never were reduced by mortal man, so far as I know, but were the only Thracians who continued free until my day. They live in lofty mountains, covered with snow and thickly and variously wooded. Moreover they are fine warriors and possess an oracle of Dionysus situated on their highest mountain. The Bessians are Satrians who serve in the temple : a prophetess gives oracles as at Delphi, and she is not inferior to that lady in ambiguity.



CXII. After traversing the countries I have just named, Xerxes then passed near the fortresses of Pieria, one of which is called Phagres, the other Pergamus. He went quite close to them, leaving the Pangaeon Mountain on the right, which mountain is lofty and mighty, and in it are gold and silver mines which belong to the Pierians, Odontians and Satrians particularly.

CXIII. Leaving the nations who dwell north of this mount, Paeonians, Doberans, Paeoplians, he went westward until he reached the inner Strymon and the city Eion, which Boges, still living, then ruled, whom I mentioned but a short while back. The district round mount Pangaeon is called Phyllis and stretches westward to the River Angites, which flows into the Strymon, and southward to the Strymon itself, near which the Magi sacrificed some white horses by way of propitious omen.

CXIV. After these incantations by the river's bank, and many others which I have not mentioned, the army taking the road by Enneahodoi, in the territory of the Edonians, reached the bridges over the Strymon, which were completed. Hearing that the spot was called Enneahodi they buried there alive some youths and maidens of the inhabitants, nine of each sex. It is, I am informed, a Persian custom to bury men alive, since Amastris, wife of Xerxes, it is said, when she found herself growing old, buried fourteen Persian boys, sons of eminent men, as a gift on her own behalf to the god of the underworld.

CXV. After leaving the Strymon, the army passed a part of the coast on which stands the Hellene city Argilus. This land and the region beyond it has the name of Bisaltia. Thence, keeping the Posideian Gulf on the left, it traversed the plain called Syles, passed the Hellene city Stagirus, and arrived at Acanthus. It brought in its train each of the nations that dwell round Mount Pangaeus, together with those that I mentioned before. The coast population was invariably made to embark while the inlanders joined the foot forces. The road which the King took is never worked or sown by the Thracians, even in my time, so great is their respect for him.

CXVI. On reaching Acanthus, Xerxes proclaimed the

Acanthians his friends, gave them the Median robe, and praised their zeal for the war. This was when he had received news of the canal.

CXVII. During his stay in this town, Artachaees, the engineer of the canal, the tallest Persian, and a friend of the King's, an Achaemenid by birth—he was but four inches off five royal cubits—fell ill and died. He had, too, the largest voice of any man, which caused Xerxes to bewail his death bitterly and order him the finest funeral procession and burial. All the army contributed to the tomb, and the Acanthians, owing to an oracle, sacrificed to him as to a hero, calling him by name. As to Xerxes, he considered the death of Artachaees a calamity.

CXVIII. The Hellenes who received the army and gave Xerxes their hospitality, fell into profound distress, and had to leave their homes. To give an example of this I quote the case of Antipater, son of Orges an eminent citizen, who was chosen by the Thasians who received in their inland cities the army of Xerxes and fed it; he pointed out that the meal had cost four hundred talents of silver.

CXIX. Similar reports came from the chosen organisers in the other cities. The feast, which was ordered and prepared a long time in advance, was of this nature. As soon as the herald arrived with the order, the citizens occupied themselves for several months in grinding the wheat in their cities: in another part they fattened up oxen, buying the finest beasts they could find: then they fed up land or marsh birds, in cages and in pools, for the sustenance of the army. Then they had to make gold and silver drinking vessels and bowls, and all other necessities for the table. These latter articles were for the King himself and the friends who dined with him: the rest of the army needed only food. When the army did come, a tent was set up into which Xerxes entered, but the rest of the army remained in the open air. The hour for dinner came: all had to be done by the hosts, while the guests after being filled, passed the night there, and on the next day, the tent was taken down, the ornaments and furniture removed, and they departed, leaving nothing behind.

CXX. Then Megacreon, a man of Abdera, said an excellent



thing. He told the Abderites to go to their temples, with their wives. There they were to sit as suppliants and beg the gods to release them for the future of half their misfortunes, but to thank them greatly that King Xerxes was not in the habit of dining twice a day : if they had had to prepare his breakfast and his dinner, they would either not have awaited his arrival, or if they had, their misery would have been unendurable.

CXXI. Heartbroken though they were, they did as they were commanded. Xerxes sent an order from Acanthus to the ships' captains with their vessels to meet him at Therma. This town is situated on the Thermaean Gulf, from which it receives its name. This road had been declared to be the shortest. I will now explain the order in which the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthus. Xerxes divided it into three parts, one of which marched along the shore in company with the fleet. This was led by Mardonius and Masistes. The second went inland, led by Tritantaechmes and Gergis. The third, with which Xerxes went, marched between the two, and was led by Smerdomenes and Megabyzus,

CXXII. After the fleet had been dismissed by Xerxes, it sailed through the canal of Athos, which leads to the gulf where stand the cities of Assa, Pylorus, Singos, and Sarta. Thence, after removing all the garrisons from these towns, it sailed off to the Thermaean Gulf, and doubling Ampelus, the Cape of Torone, it passed these cities, from which it took men and ships—Torone, Galepsus, Sermyle, Micyberne, Olynthus. This district is called Sithonia.

CXXIII. The fleet, cutting short from Cape Ampelus to Canastraeon, the most prominent point of Pallene, took men and ships from Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Æge, Therambon, Scione, Mende and Sane. These are the cities of Pallene, formerly called Phlegra. Passing by this country it sailed to the meeting-place, taking likewise an army from the cities near Pallene, and contiguous on the Thermaean Gulf. Their names were :—Lipaxus, Combreaia, Lisae, Gigonos, Campsa, Smila, Æneia. This district in like manner is called Crossaea up to the present day. From this point they sailed to the gulf and the Mygdonian land, and

eventually reached Therma and Sindus, and Chalestra on the Axios, which is the boundary between Mygdonia and Bottiaeis, on the coastline of which, a narrow spot, are the cities of Ichnae and Pella.

CXXIV. Here the crews encamped awaiting the King by the River Axios and the city Therma, while Xerxes marched through the midst of the land from the city of Acanthus, with Therma as his object. He crossed Paeonia and Crestonia to the River Echidorus, which rising in Crestonia flows through the Mygdonian land and discharges itself by the marsh near the Axios.

CXXV. During the march, lions attacked the baggage camels. Lions prowl by night and leave their accustomed lairs: they touched neither man nor beast, save only the camels. I am surprised, and search vainly for a motive. How came it that the lions, ignoring the other beasts of burden, attacked the camels which they had never seen before and with whom they had never come in conflict?

CXXVI. In these parts are many lions and wild oxen, whose horns, of prodigious length, are imported into Hellas. The limits which the lions never transgress are the River Nestus and the Achelous which flows through Acarnania. No one has ever seen a lion in all the land of Europe east of the Nestus, nor yet on the west of the continent beyond the Achelous—only in the district between.

CXXVII. When Xerxes reached Therma, he halted the army. The army encamped occupying the shore, from the city of Therma and Mygdonia as far as the River Lydias and the Haliacmon, which separate the Bottiaeis and Macedonian lands, forming together one stream. Here the barbarians encamped. Of all the rivers which flow down from Crestonia, the Echidorus alone was insufficient for the army: there was no water in it.

CXXVIII. Xerxes at Therma gazed at the mountains of Thessaly, Olympus and Ossa, pre-eminent in loftiness. When he heard that there was a narrow pass between them, which led into Thessaly, through which the Peneius flowed, he was seized with the idea of embarking and visiting the mouth of this river: he had been on the point of taking the upper road, through the territory of the Perrhaebian

Macedonians past the city of Gonnus ; this he had heard was the safest. Embarking on his Sidonian vessel, on which he always embarked when wishing to do this kind of thing, he gave the order to put out, leaving his land army behind. When Xerxes reached the mouth of the Peneus and saw it, he wondered greatly and calling his guides asked them if it were possible to turn the river aside, and bring it to the sea by means of another outlet.

CXXIX. There is an old story which says that Thessaly was once a lake, enclosed on all sides by lofty mountains. The eastward region is shut in by Pelion and Ossa, whose bases touch : the north is enclosed by Olympus, the west by Pindus, the south and south-west by Othrys. Thessaly consists of the hollow within these mountains. Many are the rivers which flow thither, but the five most famous are the Peneus, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, and Pamisus. All these after flowing into Thessaly become intermingled and flow out into the sea by one outlet and that a narrow one, with all their waters in one stream. As soon as they are mingled, the Peneius is the name which is given them, and all the rest are abandoned. Formerly, it is said, there was no outlet in existence : these rivers at that time and the Lake Boeboeis had no names, yet flowed even as they do now, and thus made a sea of Thessaly. The Thessalians themselves affirm that Poseidon made the outlet, through which flows the Peneius ; this has some verisimilitude. Whoever believes that Poseidon shakes the earth, and that the crevasse was the work of this god, to him it is obvious at the first glance that this is done by Poseidon. As a matter of fact, it has been done by an earthquake—at least that is what I thought when I saw the fissure of the mountains.

CXXX. The guides, when asked by Xerxes if there were another way by which the river could reach the sea, replied with exact knowledge : “ O King, this river has no other means of reaching the sea. All Thessaly is mountain crowned.” Then replied Xerxes : “ The Thessalians are wise men. They foresaw that without these mountains their country would be easy of capture, and of subjugation. In fact, one would only have to make the river flow back

into their land, by building a dam of earth before the opening, and by blocking the canal through which it flows—and all Thessaly within these mountains would be submerged.” This he is said to have said, when he thought of the Aleuadae, because they were the first Hellenes who had surrendered to him and he thought they had promised him allegiance in the name of the whole nation. After a sufficient examination he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained several days in Pieria, while one of the three army bodies cleared the timber on the Macedonian range in order that the whole army might pass through to the Perrhaebians. Of the heralds who had been sent to Hellas to demand earth and water, some returned empty, others with their mission fulfilled.

CXXXII. Those who acquiesced were the following:—Thessalians, Dolopians, Enienians, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnetians, Melians, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Thebans and other Boeotians with the exception of the Thespians and Plataeans. The Hellenes who undertook to fight against the barbarian, took this oath against all these peoples. “All those who, being Hellenes, voluntarily joined the Persians, when matters are readjusted shall pay the tithe to Delphi’s god.” Such was the Hellene oath.

CXXXIII. To Athens and Sparta Xerxes sent no messengers with the demand for earth and water: his reasons were clear. When Darius had sent before, his messenger at Athens had been hurled into a dungeon, while at Sparta he was bade seek at the bottom of a well the earth and water which he required for the King. I cannot say how the Athenians were punished for this outrage on the heralds, unless by the subsequent devastation of their city and country. Yet I think that this took place for another reason.

CXXXIV. Nevertheless the wrath of Talthybius, herald of Agamemnon, fell heavily on the Lacedemonians. In Sparta there is a shrine of Talthybius, and his descendants are called Talthybiadae. To them alone are the duties and privileges of heraldship at Sparta entrusted. After the display of anger on the part of the Spartans, they found that the omens no longer turned out satisfactorily when



they sacrificed. This lasted some time. Frequent assemblies were summoned and at last a proclamation was made by herald inviting a Lacedemonian to die on behalf of Sparta. Sperthias, son of Aneristus, and Boulis, son of Nicoles, both Spartiates by birth, and of considerable wealth, willingly offered to satisfy Xerxes' demand for vengeance for the murder of the heralds of Darius. So the Spartiates sent them to the Medes to be executed.

CXXXV. The courage and the language of these men commanded the highest admiration. On the way to Sardis, they came to the house of Hydarnes. Hydarnes was a Persian by birth, commander of the maritime nations of Asia. He received them hospitably, and after dinner, addressed them in the following terms :—" Gentlemen of Sparta, why do you refuse to become reconciled with the great King? You perceive that the King knows how to honour a brave man : look at my wealth and good fortune. If you accept his friendship, seeing that he esteems you so highly, he will give each of you a part of Hellas to rule over." To which they replied : "Hydarnes, the advice you give us is not well balanced. You have tasted slavery, but know nothing of the delights of freedom. If you did know what freedom was, you would exhort us to fight in her behalf not only with spears, but with axes."

CXXXVI. Such was their answer. When they reached Susa and were admitted into the King's presence, the guards ordered them to prostrate themselves before the King, and endeavoured to force them. They said that they were not accustomed to bow their heads to any man, even if they were hurled headlong by refusing. They had not come for that purpose. Then they confirmed their active refusal by further speech : "King of the Medes, the Lacedemonians have sent us to pay the penalty for your heralds who were slain at Sparta." It is said that Xerxes with a sudden inspiration of magnanimity proclaimed his want of resemblance to the Lacedemonians. They had violated all laws human and divine in putting the heralds to death. He did not propose to practise what he condemned, and would abstain from purifying the Lacedemonians by putting their envoys to death.

CXXXVII. Thus, owing to the vigorous action of the



Spartiates, the wrath of Talthybius was suddenly appeased, though Sparthias and Boulis returned home once more. Long time after this wrath blazed forth again, as the Lacedemonians affirm, during the war between Athens and the Peloponnese. It seems to me too, that, in the episode I am about to relate, there is something very mysterious. It is quite natural to suppose that the wrath of Talthybius should break out owing to the murder of the heralds, and that it should not cease until its work had been accomplished; but that it should be visited on the children of the men who went to the King to pay the penalty, on Nicolas, son of Boulis, and Aneristus, son of Sperthias who plundered the fisheries of Tiryns with a crew of merchantmen—this seems to me curious and beyond human explanation. Both were sent as envoys to Asia by the Lacedemonians, and being betrayed by Sitalces, son of Teres, King of the Thracians, and Nymphodorus, son of Pythees an Abderite, were taken near Bisanthe in the Hellespont. They were brought back to Attica and put to death by the Athenians, and with them the Corinthian Aristetas, son of Adeimantus. This occurred many years after the King's expedition: let me return to my principal story.

CXXXVIII. The army of the King was marching, according to general report, on Athens, but its real object was the subjugation of Hellas. The Hellenes, who had received this information long before, did not display any unanimity in their actions. Those who had given earth and water, rejoiced that they would suffer nothing from the barbarians. Those who had refused were in a state of panic, because there were not in Hellas sufficient vessels to resist the invasion. The majority hesitated to initiate resistance, and were inclined to medise.

CXXXIX. Here I must state my own private opinion. It will be received probably with much unpopularity: it matters not—I will tell what seems to me the truth. Had the Athenians been terrified by the peril that menaced them, left their country, or remained only to yield to the overtures of Xerxes, no one would have dared to resist the King on sea. Had no one opposed Xerxes on sea, this is what would have happened on land. Though several fortresses

had been raised by the Peloponnesians across the Isthmus the Lacedemonians would have been betrayed not willingly but under compulsion by their allies, who would have fallen city by city to the barbarian fleet. They would thus have been isolated, and in their glorious isolation, after performing prodigies of valour, would have perished nobly. Such would have been their fate : or else, seeing at the beginning that the Hellenes were joining the King, they likewise would have surrendered. In both cases, Hellas would have been subjugated. I cannot understand what would have been the value of the fortresses erected across the Isthmus so long as the King was master of the sea. Therefore if anyone called the Athenians the salvation of Hellas, he would not be far wrong. Truth to tell, on whatever side they ranged themselves, their presence would have altered the balance. In choosing to champion the freedom of Hellas, they encouraged the other Hellenes who had not previously medised, and with the assistance of Heaven they repelled him. The oracles even which came from Delphi and struck terror into their hearts did not cause them to abandon Hellas. They stood their ground and did not hesitate to attack the invader.

CXL. The Athenians had prepared to send messengers to consult the oracle at Delphi. After performing the proper ceremonial, they entered the hall and waited. The Pythoness whose name was Aristonica, answered in these verses :

“Woe to you ! Why sit you here ? Away to earth’s farthest confines,

Flee from your homes and hearths, and the rounded roofs of your city:

Head shall not be unscathed, nor body be left without hurt done,

Nor shall the feet go whole nor hands, nor aught that remaineth.

Death cometh, fire and sword, perched on a Syrian war car.

Many and many a tower shall fall—nor shall ye suffer lonely.

Temples of gods shall cease before the might of the fire flame,

Which now are standing erect—and sweat shall pour from the mortals

Quaking with fear : from the top of the roof in a stream shall  
 be flowing  
 Blood that is black as night, an omen of further misfortune.  
 Leave, then, my shrine forthwith and face these sorrows with  
 boldness."

CXLI. When the messengers heard this they were utterly downcast. They gave themselves up for lost, overwhelmed by this evil answer. Then Timon, son of Androbulus, a man who was as much honoured as anyone by the Delphians, bade them enter the shrine a second time as suppliants, taking branches of olive. The Athenians did this, and said : " O King, give us a more encouraging oracle about our country ; behold we come with branches as suppliants : otherwise we will never leave this sanctuary, but will abide here until we die. Then the priestess answered :

" Pallas can never appease the wrath of Zeus of Olympus,  
 E'en though she try with prayer and many cunning devices.  
 Again will I utter this word,—which shall be for ever abiding.  
 All that the bounds of Cecrops enclose, the caves of Cithaeron,  
 All shall be lost, yet Zeus in wisdom gives you a rampart  
 Which shall alone abide invincible, aye, for your children :  
 Wooden it is : wait not for horsemen or foot swiftly moving,  
 Rest not before the foe that comes from within, but go quickly  
 Turning your back : one day shall you hurry him to destruction.  
 O Salamis divine, for you shall die children of women,  
 E'en though the crops be sown—or gathered in for the harvest."

CXLII. This answer appeared, as in fact it was, of gentler tone than the first, and after writing it down they returned to Athens. When they had narrated this to the assembly, many discussions took place in the endeavour to explain the oracle : these were the most supported. Some of the elders said that the god seemed to promise the safety of the Acropolis, which had formerly been surrounded by a pallisade, and this enclosure was in their opinion the wooden rampart of the Pythoness. Others said that the gods indicated a fleet, and insisted that such should be made ready and all the rest abandoned. Even these, however, who thought that the wooden rampart meant a fleet, were embarrassed with the last two lines :

“ O Salamis divine, for you shall die children of women,  
E'en though the crops be sown—or gathered in for the harvest.”

These verses saddened them, for the interpreters of oracles gave an interpretation, which held that they were bound to be defeated near Salamis in a sea fight.

CXLIII. There was among the Athenians a man who had but recently reached distinction. His name was Themistocles, his father was Neocles. He objected to the interpretation. “ If the words,” said he, “ referred to Athens, this gentle form would not have been used. We should have had : ‘ O miserable Salamis,’ instead of ‘ O divine Salamis,’ if the inhabitants were fated to perish on its shores. The oracle obviously refers to our enemies, and not to the Athenians.” He exhorted them to make ready to fight on sea, this being the true interpretation of the wooden wall. The Athenians preferred the explanation of Themistocles to that of the soothsayers, who attempted to dissuade them from preparations for naval warfare, but urged them to make no resistance, to leave the country and find another Attica.

CXLIV. Before this, too, another opinion of Themistocles had been successfully adopted, when Athens received much fine gold from her mines at Laurium. They were going to range themselves in lines, and distribute ten drachmae to each man. Themistocles dissuaded them, and by taking as his pretext the war against Ægina, spoke so well that they decided to devote the money to building two hundred men-of-war. This war actually saved Hellas, because it compelled the Athenians to acquire naval proficiency. These vessels were not used for the purpose for which they had been designed, but in the time of need they were indeed useful. The Athenians still had them, and decided to build others. They resolved, in accordance with the oracle, to embark all their people, and to receive with other Hellenes who wished to join with them, the shock of the impending host.

CXLV. Such were the oracles that the Athenians had received. The Hellenes, who still hoped for Hellas, assembled, and took mutual oaths of assistance, and decided

to put an end to all intestine and civil disturbances before all things. They were all occupied in some quarrel or other, the most important being the war between Athens and Ægina. Learning afterwards that Xerxes was at Sardis, they determined to send spies into Asia to keep them informed of the movements of the King. They thought, too, of sending envoys to Argos to suggest an alliance against the Persian, and to Gelon, son of Deinomenes, at Sicily, and to Corcyra and Crete, asking for assistance for Hellas. They wished to unite the Hellenic race into one body, and to act with unanimity after mutual reconciliation. Truth to say, all the Hellenes were alike affected by the danger. The position of Gelon was said to be magnificent, and to outrival the prosperity of any other Hellenic community.

CXLVI. Acting on this resolution, they abandoned private quarrels, and sent three spies to Asia. They inspected the King's army, but were surprised. The generals had them tortured and led off to execution. Xerxes was informed, and did not approve the sentence, whereat he sent some of his bodyguard to bring the spies to him if they found them alive. This they did and brought them into the King's presence. When he learnt the reason for their advent, he ordered the spearmen to conduct them round and show them all the cavalry and infantry, and when they had had their fill of seeing, to let them go back unharmed to their own land.

CXLVII. His reason was clear. If the spies were put to death, the Hellenes would never be able to realise that his power was greater even than had been rumoured. Besides, three men did not make much loss in their army. "When they return," he said in conclusion, "the Hellenes, on hearing their story, will scarcely wait for my invasion to surrender their national liberty, and thus we shall scarcely have the trouble of marching against them." Xerxes thought then as he thought on another occasion. While he was at Abydos, he saw some vessels carrying grain. They came from the Euxine through the Hellespont, and were going to Ægina and the Peloponnese. His courtiers, on hearing that they were hostile, wished to capture them, and



looked to the King for some such order. But Xerxes asked them : " Whither are you going ? " " To your enemies," they replied, " with food." Then he answered : " We are going where they are going with these cargoes of wheat. How do they hurt us by carrying grain across for us ? " Thus the spies, after seeing all, journeyed back to Europe.

CXLVIII. The Hellenes who had made a confederacy against Persia, after the departure of the spies, sent envoys to Argos. The Argives have this version of the story. At the first rumour of a Persian invasion of Hellas, they did not doubt but that the Hellenes would attempt to gain their help in opposing the enemy. Wherefore they sent messengers to Delphi, to ask the god what was the best course to adopt. For but lately six thousand of them had been slain by the Lacedemonians under Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides : therefore they sent. The answer was this :

" Foe to the neighbouring lands, the darling of godheads immortal,  
Rest in your homes well armed, couching your lance for the battle.  
Guard well your head : and your head shall be your body's salvation."

When therefore the messengers arrived at Argos, they entered into council and published their instructions. " We are ready," replied the Argives, " to do as you suggest on the condition of a thirty years' truce between ourselves and the Lacedemonians. We must also command half the allied army. To be strictly just, we ought to command the whole army, but we will be content with half."

CXLIX. Such, say they, was the Senate's answer, although the oracle had forbidden them to ally with the Hellenes. They were, however, in a hurry to conclude a treaty for thirty years, despite the fear with which the oracle had inspired them, in order that their children might grow to manhood during these years. Unless there were a treaty, if some misfortune happened to them at the hands of the Persians, they believed that they would be for ever beneath the Lacedemonian yoke. The Spartan deputies then replied : " As far as concerns the treaty, our duty is

to refer it to the people. With regard to the chief command, we ourselves can give you an answer. We have two kings, Argos has one. It is not possible that one of the Spartiate kings should be deprived of his authority; but nothing prevents the King of Argos having a vote as do both our kings." Thus, said the Argives, it was impossible to curb the arrogance of Sparta, and they preferred to be ruled by the barbarian rather than the Lacedemonians, and ordered the envoys to leave Argive land before the sun set: otherwise, they would be treated as enemies.

CL. Such is the Argive account. There is another story which is in vogue in Hellas. Xerxes it is said, before ever he started to invade Hellas, sent a herald to Argos, who spoke on his arrival, as follows:—"Men of Argos, thus does Xerxes address you. We believe that Perses from whom we are descended was son of Perseus, son of Danae: he was born of Andromeda, daughter of Cepheus. We are therefore descendants of yours. It is scarcely likely that we should attack our own descendants, or that you should assist others who are our enemies. Remain therefore in peace in your own country. If fortune favour me, you shall be favoured more than all the rest." The Argives were much gratified with these propositions: for the moment they made no demands, and no promises. Consequently, when the Hellenes desired to force them into the League, knowing well that the Lacedemonians would refuse their request, they asked for the commandership, in order to have a pretext for inactivity.

CLI. Several Hellenes say that many years after a striking proof was given of the accuracy of this story. Callias, son of Hipponicus, and other deputies from Athens happened to be at Susa in the Memnonian palace, for quite another matter. Thither came at the same time envoys from Argos to ask Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, if he continued in the friendship which his father had shown them, or if he looked upon them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied that he certainly did continue, and loved no city more than Argos.

CLII. I cannot say with accuracy whether Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, or whether Argive envoys did go to Susa

and ask Artaxerxes about their mutual friendship, and I can find no other account about it than the one which is put forward by the Argives themselves. I know well that if all mankind were permitted to carry their own misfortunes to one spot with a view to exchanging them for those of their neighbours, after careful consideration each one would carry back his own, which he himself had conveyed thither. Thus we cannot attribute the most dishonourable conduct to the Argives. I must, of course, repeat the stories that are current, though I am not compelled to believe all, which truth refers to my whole history. It is, then, also said that it was the Argives who invited the Persians to attack Hellas, after their contest with the Lacedemonians had proved so disastrous, and because at all risks they wished to escape from their unhappy condition. Enough of Argos.

CLIII. The other deputies came to Sicily to Gelon, and among them was a Lacedemonian, named Syagrus. One of the ancestors of this Gelon, who lived in Gela, came from the island of Telos, near Triopium. When the Lindians of Rhodes with Antiphemus colonised Gela, they did not leave him behind. Eventually, his descendants, who became priests of the native deities, continued in this office, with which Telines their ancestor had been invested after this fashion. Certain citizens of Gela, who were defeated in a faction, fled to Mactorion, a city above Gela. Telines brought them back to Gela using no force, but the power of divine persuasion, given him by knowledge of the rites. Whence he learnt or invented this science, I cannot precisely say. Yet on this he relied and brought them back, on the condition that his descendants should exercise the same power. I always wonder how Telines did achieve this work. Such things cannot be accomplished by every man, but only by help of a stout heart and body. He is said to have been the exact reverse of this, an effeminate and weakly man. Still, that was how he obtained this privilege.

CLIV. At the death of Cleandrus, son of Pantares, who ruled Gela seven years, and was slain by Sabyllus, a citizen of Gela, Hippocrates, his brother, assumed the tyranny. While Hippocrates was tyrant, Gelon, who was descended

from Telines the seer, with many others, among them Ænesidemus son of Pataicus, who was spear-bearer of Hippocrates, became conspicuous. After a short time, owing to his merit, he became master of the horse. While Hippocrates was besieging the Callipolites, then the Naxians of Sicily, then the Zancleans and Leontini, then the Syracusans and barbarians, Gelon showed himself in all these campaigns to be a person of resplendent worth. Of the cities I have mentioned, Syracuse was the only one that did not succumb to Hippocrates. The Corinthians and Corcyreans saved the Syracusans who had been defeated in battle by the River Elorus; they saved them, and reconciled them with Hippocrates, on condition that they handed over to him Camarina, a city which had belonged to them since the dawn of history.

CLV. When Hippocrates had reigned as long as his brother Cleandrus, he died before the city of Hybla, when fighting against the Sicilians. Then Gelon made a pretext of avenging his sons Eucleides and Cleandrus, whom the people were unwilling to receive as rulers, but in fact conquered the Geloans, and after depriving the sons of Hippocrates, himself became tyrant. After this unlooked-for success, it happened that those of the Syracusans who are called Gamori were cast forth by their slaves and by the people called Callyrians. Gelon headed these refugees, led them back from Casmene to Syracuse and took that city. The people indeed came out and betrayed the city to him.

CLVI. After capturing Syracuse, Gelon did not hold very high his rule in Gela, and handed it over to his brother Hiero, while he himself ruled in Syracuse. For him Syracuse was everything. The city grew and flourished prodigiously. He conveyed all the men of Camarina into Syracuse, and made them citizens: their city he destroyed. And, in fact, he did the same with more than half the population of Gela. While he was besieging the Sicilian Megarians, they capitulated. The rich men of the city had promoted the war, and expected nothing better than death. But he brought them to Sicily and made them citizens: the common people, who had no value in the quarrel, suffered no harm, but were brought to Syracuse and there

sold for exportation from Sicily. Similar was his action in the case of the Euboean Naxians, after being divided into two parts. He did this because he considered that the lower orders are distinctly unpleasant to live with, and thus became a most powerful tyrant.

CLVII. On reaching Syracuse, the Hellene envoys spoke as follows :—"The Lacedemonians and Athenians and allies have sent us to bring you back to assist us against the barbarian. Perchance you have heard that he is invading Hellas, that a Persian, after bridging the Hellespont and collecting the whole army of the east, is marching from Asia against Hellas, under pretext of merely attacking Athens, but really purposing to enslave the whole of Hellas. You are mighty, and no small portion of Hellas belongs to you who rule in Sicily. Help, therefore, these who would deliver Hellas. If all Hellas be united, they form a mighty band, and one that is in no way unworthy of its foes. But if some betray us and others refuse aid, and the internal agreement of Hellas be minute, it is inevitable but that all Hellas will fall. Do not expect that if the Persian conquer us, he will not come against you; be forearmed. In helping us you help yourself. An enterprise that is well begun generally has happy issue."

CLVIII. Gelon answered with much vehemence : "Hellenes, you have the presumption to ask me to ally with you against the barbarian. Yet you, when I asked for assistance against a barbarian horde, when the Carthaginians fought against me—when I asked you to avenge the murder of Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides, slain by the Egestians, when I offered to open for you my ports from which you would have obtained much profit and advantage, you refused assistance, and even declined to avenge the death of Dorieus. It was no thanks to you that the barbarian did not make himself master of the whole country. My position was saved. But since war has come to you, you now remember Gelon. Though I was disdained by you, I will not imitate your example. I am ready to supply two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy armed men, two thousand horses, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light horse. I will



provide food for the whole Hellene army until the war be brought to an end ; but on this condition, I must be commander-in-chief of the Hellenes against the barbarian. Otherwise I will neither go myself nor send others."

CLIX. At these words, Syagrus could not contain himself. " Verily, the grandson of Pelops, Agamemnon, would groan deeply if he heard that the Lacedemonians had been deprived of the leadership by Gelon and the Syracusans. Forget everything you have said, even as far as the request to lead the Hellenes. If you wish to help Hellas, learn that it will be under the orders of the Lacedemonians. If you do not wish to be commanded, do not send assistance."

CLX. Then answered Gelon, when he saw that Syagrus opposed him with such firmness, and made a proposal to the deputies : " Spartan strangers, an insult is a likely thing to raise a man's anger. Though you have not been sparing thereof in your observations, you will not rouse me to make a discourteous answer. If you are so anxious for the command, have I not the right to be even more anxious, since I have at my disposal a far larger army, and a more numerous fleet ? Yet since your words on this point are scarcely conciliatory, I will make a concession. You shall command the land army, I the fleet. If you desire the fleet, I will command the army. If you do not agree to these conditions, you must leave without my alliance." Thus and thus did he propose.

CLXI. The Athenian deputy, anticipating his Lacedemonian comrade, answered in these words : " King of the Syracusans, Hellas did not send to you for a general, but for an army. You do not seem disposed to furnish troops if the chief command be not entrusted to you. You wish to be placed at the head of us. When you suggested a short while ago to be made commander-in-chief of the Hellene army, it was sufficient for us to hold our peace, knowing full well that the Lacedemonian envoy could speak for us and himself. But since you have abandoned the vastness of your pretensions, and desire only to command the fleet, we must intervene. If the Lacedemonians do not desire this command, we must claim it : if the Spartans do not wish it, it is ours. If they wished it, we should have

nothing to say, but no one else shall command us on the sea. What labour lost for us to have acquired the largest fleet in Hellas if we are going to resign the leadership in favour of the Syracusans, we, who are the oldest nation in the world and the only Hellenes who have never emigrated ! Homer, the epic poet, said that one of our race went to Ilium and excelled in drawing up the troops for battle. We cannot be blamed for speaking so warmly in the matter."

CLXII. Gelon answered : " Athenian stranger, you seem to me to have a splendid selection of generals, but no men for them to command. Since you concede nothing, do not hesitate to return with all speed to Hellas, and announce that the spring is gone from the year." He meant to say that since the spring is evidently the best time of the year, his own army would have been the best part of the Hellene forces. He, therefore, likened Hellas without his army to the year without spring.

CLXIII. After these negotiations with Gelon, the ambassadors sailed away. Gelon, however, feared that the Hellenes would succumb before the barbarians, yet considering it an intolerable insult that the tyrant of Sicily should go to the Peloponnese and be under the orders of the Lacedemonians, completely changed his mind, and went to the other extreme. As soon as he heard that the Persian had crossed the Hellespont, he sent Cadmus, a man of Cos, son of Scythes, to Delphi with three penteconters ; he entrusted to him many treasures, and bade him use friendly salutations, and wait to see the fortune of war. If the barbarian conquered, he was to give up the treasures, together with earth and water from all the cities that Gelon ruled. If the Hellenes were victorious, he was to return.

CLXIV. Cadmus had recently received from his father the tyranny of Cos firmly established, but, willingly and unmenaced by danger, he had, by way of righteousness, handed over the command to the Coan populace, and had retired himself to Sicily. Here with the Samians he had taken and colonised the city of Zancle, which changed its name to Messene. This Cadmus who had thus come to Sicily was sent by Gelon to Delphi owing to his righteousness, which he appreciated. He, among the many proofs that

he gave of his integrity, displayed not the least at this juncture. Master of the great wealth which Gelon had given him, he had the opportunity of retaining it, but refused to take it. When the Hellenes defeated the barbarians at sea, and Xerxes had fled, he returned to Sicily with the treasure intact.

CLXV. The Sicilians, however, pretended that even with the condition of obedience to the Lacedemonians, Gelon would have sent out assistance to the Hellenes, had not Terillus, son of Crinippus, tyrant of Himera, been expelled by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, ruler of Acragas, and brought against him at this moment a body of three hundred thousand men, consisting of Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligyans, Helisycians, Sardonians and Cynrians, with Amilcas, son of Anno, King of the Carthaginians as leader. The latter came out of friendship to Terillus, and above all, owing to the zeal of Anaxilus, son of Cortinus, tyrant of Rhegium, who persuaded him to go to Sicily and avenge his father-in-law, after giving his children as hostages to Amilcas. Anaxilus had married Cydippe, daughter of Terillus. Thus in these circumstances Gelon was unable to assist Hellas and sent off the treasures to Delphi.

CLXVI. They add, too, that it befell on the same day that Gelon and Theron in Sicily defeated Amilcas and the Carthaginians, while the Hellenes were victorious at Salamis. Amilcas, who was a Carthaginian on his father's side, and Syracusan on his mother's, had become King of the Carthaginians owing to his personal bravery. When the battle was fought and he defeated, I am told that he disappeared. He was never seen again on earth either alive or dead, though Gelon had search made everywhere.

CLXVII. There is another story told by the Carthaginians which has all the elements of probability, that in Sicily the barbarians fought the Hellenes from dawn until the evening. In truth, it is reported that the conflict was prolonged until the last ray of twilight. Amilcas meanwhile remained in the camp sacrificing, and watching the omens as he burnt whole carcasses on an enormous pyre. At last, through these sacrifices and libations, he saw predicted the rout of his own men, whereat he hurled

himself into the flames, and thus vanished for ever. Whether Amilcas perished as the Phoenicians say, or as the Carthaginians and Syracusans suppose, nevertheless they offer up sacrifices to him, and have elevated memorials to him in all the cities of the colonies, the most extensive being at Carthage itself. Such were the events in Sicily.

CLXVIII. I will now narrate the answer of the Corcyraeans and their action in this matter. The same envoys who had been to Sicily came to them, and made the same proposals as they had made to Gelon. They promised immediate contribution to the defence, exclaiming that they could not let Hellas perish before their eyes. If Hellas fell, they had nothing but servitude to expect from the first day. They would assist in avenging Hellas with all their might. This answer they gave with a great assumption of determination. When the day arrived, their resolution waned. They manned sixty vessels, and had scarcely reached the Peloponnese, when by Pylus and Taenarum they halted, in the endeavour to wait for the issue of the battle. They scarcely hoped that the Hellenes would prevail, but rather feared that all Hellas would fall before the Persian. They did this in order that they might be able to address to the Persian these fitting words: "O King, the Hellenes wished for us to take part in this war, because our power is not insignificant and our fleet is second only to that of the Athenians. We, however, refused to resist you, or to do anything displeasing in your eyes." They hoped by such excuses to obtain more favourable terms than the others, which eventually proved the case, I believe. They had likewise an explanation ready for the Hellenes, which they also used. When the latter complained that they had sent no assistance, they replied that they had manned sixty vessels, which owing to the Etesian winds had been unable to round Cape Malea. Thus they could not reach Salamis, and without any ulterior design, had just missed the naval engagement. And so they deceived the Hellenes.

CLXIX. I will next set forth the doings of the Cretans when the envoys came to ask their assistance. They sent a common mission to Delphi to ask if any advantage would



accrue to them for assisting Hellas. The Pythoness answered: "Fools, you still lament over the tears which Minos made you shed when you lent aid to Menelaus. He was filled with wrath, because the Lacedemonians had refused their assistance when he himself was slain at Camicus, yet you joined in an expedition to recover a woman who had been raped from Sparta by a barbarian." When the Cretans received this answer, they refused their assistance.

CLXX. The story goes that Minos in quest of Daedalus went to Sicania which is now known as Sicily, and there met with a violent death. At last, at the instigation of Heaven, the Cretans with the exception of the Polichnites and Praesians, came to Sicily with a mighty armament and besieged Camicus for five years, which in my time was occupied by the men of Acragas. But being neither able to take it by storm, nor to starve out the defenders, they returned home. When they were off Iapygia, a great storm arose and drove their ships on shore. The ships being wrecked, all possibility of return to Crete seemed lost to them, wherefore they founded a city called Hyria, and dwelt there. They changed their name from Cretans to Iapygian Messapians, and became landmen, instead of islanders. They founded from Hyria other colonies, which the Tarentines attacked furiously, when in after time they became hostile. The result was the greatest massacre of Hellenes that has ever been recorded. Of the Rhegians alone who had been forced by Micythus, son of Choerus, into an alliance with the Tarentines and had come to help them, there fell three thousand. The Tarentine dead were not counted. Micythus, who was a servant of Anaxilus, had been left in command of Rhegium; when he was cast out from Rhegium he went and dwelt at Tegea in Arcadia, and dedicated many statues at the temple in Olympia.

CLXXI. This account of the Rhegians and Tarentines must be regarded purely as a parenthesis. The Praesians say that Crete, which was then deserted, was colonised by other nations, especially Hellenes; and that in the third generation after Minos took place the Trojan War, in which it appears that the Cretans were not backwards in assisting Menelaus to vengeance. But for this reason on their



return from Troy they were made to suffer famine and disease, both themselves and their animals, to such an extent that for the second time Crete was depopulated. The Cretans are therefore the third people who dwell therein. The Pythoness reminded them of these facts when they wished to assist the Hellenes.

CLXXII. The Thessalians had at first medised on compulsion, but they showed that this policy of the Aleuadae was not at all satisfactory to them. As soon as they learnt that the Persians purposed to cross into Hellas, they sent messages to the Isthmus. At the Isthmus had assembled the chosen deputies from the Hellene states who wished to discover the best course of salvation for Hellas. The Thessalian messengers arrived and said: "Men of Hellas, you must guard the Olympian Pass, that Thessaly and all Hellas may be saved from the evils of war. We are ready to assist in guarding it, but you must send a considerable force. If not, we shall go over to the Persians. We are placed in the forefront of battle, as it were, and do not propose to martyrise ourselves for your sakes. If you refuse, we are under no obligation to you: no obligation can produce an impossibility, and we shall be obliged to seek safety as best we may." Such was their speech.

CLXXIII. The Hellenes straightway proposed to send a large force by sea to guard the Olympian Pass. When the army had been collected, it sailed down the Euripus. On reaching Alus in Achaea, it disembarked and marched towards Thessaly. The ships were left there. It reached by Tempe the pass which leads from Macedonia down into Thessaly, along the Peneius between Olympus and Ossa. Here the Hellene hoplites encamped in companies of ten thousand, reinforced by the native cavalry. The Lacedaemonians were under the command of Euaenetus, son of Carenus, a picked man from the polemarchs, though he did not belong to the royal house, and Themistocles, son of Neocles was general of the Athenians. They remained there a few days. Hither came messengers from Alexander, son of Amyntas a Macedonian, counselling them to go, and not to abide in the pass to be trampled down by the invading force, whose numbers, both on land

and sea, were so prodigious. Judging this advice to be good, and assuming that the Macedonian was acting in their interests, they followed it. I imagine, however, that they obeyed the dictates of fear, when they heard that there was another pass into Thessaly below the Macedonian limit, through the Perrhaebian land by the city of Gonnus, by which the army of Xerxes did in fact arrive. The Hellenes retreated to their ships and returned to the Isthmus.

CLXXIV. This march into Thessaly took place when the King was purposing to cross from Asia into Hellas, and was still at Abydos. Thus the Thessalians, being isolated, medised zealously without hesitation, and proved themselves of invaluable assistance to the King.

CLXXV. When the Hellenes reached the Isthmus, they deliberated with reference to the advice of Alexander, where and in what places to fight. Opinion eventually favoured the pass by Thermopylae. This seemed narrower than that into Thessaly, yet nearer to their own country. The path, by which the Hellenes were eventually surprised at Thermopylae, was unknown to them until they arrived at Thermopylae and the Trachinians indicated it to them. They determined to guard this pass and thus prevent the entrance of the barbarian into Hellas, while the fleet was destined to sail to Artemisium, in the land of Histiaeotis: these two positions were near enough for each to know what happened to the other. Here is my description of them.

CLXXVI. On one side, the vast expanse of the Thracian Sea is narrowed down to a small strait between the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. After this strait comes, on the coast of Euboea, Artemisium, where there is a temple of Artemis. On the other side, from Trachis, the approach to Hellas at its narrowest part is but half-a-plethron across. Yet even here is not the narrowest spot in the country, but in front of Thermopylae and behind it. Behind, towards Alpeni, there is passage for but one chariot, and in front by the River Phoenix, near the city of Anthele, no greater space. West of Thermopylae is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Ceta. Eastward the sea and its pools border the

road. In this pass are warm springs, which the natives call chytri, and near them is an altar of Heracles. The passage has been blocked by a wall, and at one time there were gates to it. The Phocaeans built the wall in a panic when the Thessalians came from the land of the Thesprotians to the Æolian land which they now occupy. The Phocaeans built it because the Thessalians endeavoured to annex them; they conducted the boiling water down to the pass, so that a ravine was formed, and in fact employed all manner of artifice to prevent the Thessalians attacking their land. The greater part of this wall had crumbled away through the ravages of time. They decided to rebuild it and use it to defend Hellas against the barbarian. There is a village near this road called Alpeni. From this the Hellenes thought they could acquire provisions.

CLXXVII. These spots seemed most adequate to them, after carefully considering how they might nullify the effect of the barbarians' numbers, and confine the efforts of their cavalry. When they heard that the Persians were at Pieria, the army left the Isthmus, some going to Thermopylae, others by sea to Artemisium.

CLXXVIII. While the Hellenes hurried to take up these positions of defence, the Delphians consulted the oracle, in anxiety for Hellas and for themselves likewise. The oracle told them to address their prayers to the winds, which would prove themselves adequate allies of Hellas. On receiving this answer, the Delphians related it to those Hellenes who still loved freedom, and in that they announced it at a moment when the whole populace was terrified before the advance of the barbarian, they have acquired eternal merit. After this the Delphians built an altar to the winds in Thyia in which city is a shrine of Thyia, daughter of Cephisus, after whom the country is named, and made sacrifice. To this day the Delphians propitiate the winds in accordance with these oracles.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Xerxes left Therma and sent ten of its largest vessels straight to Sciathus, where was an advance guard of three Hellene ships, one from Troezen, Ægina and Athens respectively. On sighting the barbarian vessels, they turned incontinently to flight.

CLXXX. The Troezenian ship, commanded by Prexinus was speedily captured. They took the finest man of the crew and cut his throat on the prow, considering it an omen of success that their first victim was so beautiful. The man's name was Leon; perhaps his name brought him misfortune.

CLXXXI. The Æginetan vessel, commanded by Asonides, caused the barbarians some trouble: Pythes, son of Ische-nous, was on board, and displayed the highest bravery on that occasion. When his vessel was taken, he still continued fighting, and did not cease till he was literally cut in pieces. Though he fell, the Persians found him still breathing, when they boarded the vessel; they admired his courage so much that they endeavoured to save him, stanching his wounds with myrrh, and bandages of byssus. When he was brought back to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army as a most extraordinary personage, and treated him with all kindness: the rest had no better lot than that of slaves.

CLXXXII. Thus were captured two of the vessels, but the third, commanded by the Athenian Phormus, escaped, but ran aground near the mouth of the Peneius, and though the men got away, the vessel was lost. As soon as they ran aground, the Athenians leaped ashore, and traversing Thessaly with all speed, they reached Athens.

CLXXXIII. This was communicated to the Hellenes at Artemisium by means of beacons on Sciathus. This made them apprehensive and they removed from Artemisium to Chalcis in order to guard the Euripus: spies were left on the mountains of Euboea. Of the ten barbarian vessels, three approached the barrier that exists between Sciathus and Magnesia, which is called Myrmex. Here they set a column which they had brought. This done, the whole fleet left Therma, having no further obstacle to fear in their way, and set sail eleven days after Xerxes had quitted that town. Pammon of Scyros had informed them that in the channel there was a barrier. They sailed all day and reached the territory of Magnesia by Sepias, and the shore between this promontory and the city of Casthanaea.

CLXXXIV. Up to this spot, and as far as Thermopylae,



the army suffered no obstruction. I will now give a conjecture of my own about their numbers. On the twelve hundred and seven vessels of Asia, there were originally belonging to all nationalities, two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred men, reckoning two hundred men to each ship. On each ship, apart from a native crew, there were thirty Persians, Medes or Sacians. This makes an addition of thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten. To these and the numbers already stated I must add the crews of the penteconters, taking an average of eighty men for every vessel. There were three thousand of these, as I have stated. Their crews would therefore number two hundred and forty thousand. The total numbers therefore of the Asiatic fleet were five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. The foot were one million seven hundred thousand, the cavalry eighty thousand. To these I must add the Arabians who drove the camels, and the Libyans who drove the chariots, twenty thousand in all. Adding therefore the forces of both land and sea we have a total of two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. This was the multitude which came from Asia, not counting the camp-followers and the sailors on the transports.

CLXXXV. This mighty army was reinforced on reaching Europe, but the numbers I can only conjecture. The Thracian Hellenes and the islanders near Thrace provided a hundred and twenty vessels. On them we must reckon twenty-four thousand men. Infantry was supplied by the Thracians, Paeonians, Eordians, Bottiaeans, and of the Chalcidians, by the Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhaebians, Enienians, Dolopians, Magnesians, Achaeans and the coastlanders of Thrace, to the number of three hundred thousand, I should think. Adding these again, we get a total of two million six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. I do not imagine that the numbers of the camp-followers and crews of the transports were any less—in fact they were probably more. Let us assume that they were equal, neither more nor less. Thus Xerxes, son of Darius, led an army of five million two hundred and



eight-three thousand two hundred and twenty as far as Sepias and Thermopylae.

CLXXXVII. Such was the grand total of the armament of Xerxes, and no one could tell exactly the number of bakeresses, concubines and eunuchs, nor yet of the baggage animals and other beasts of burden, nor of the Indian dogs that followed. I am not at all astonished that the streams of the rivers dried up, but I wonder really where food was found for all this multitude. I calculate, that if each man ate nothing more than a choenix of wheat each day, they would consume a hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimnae daily—without reckoning food for the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden and dogs. Of all the countless thousands, none was more worthy by beauty and stature than Xerxes to hold the sovereign power.

CLXXXVIII. The fleet set out, and on reaching the shore of Magnesia between the city of Casthanaea and the promontory of Sepias, the first vessels were beached, while the others rode at anchor. Since the beach was small, the vessels were drawn up prow outwards in lines of eight. The night passed, but at dawn the calm and tranquil weather vanished, a terrible storm arose, the waves seethed, and the gale fell on them, which the natives call "Hellespontine Wind." Those who noticed the increasing fury of the wind, and whose position permitted it, were able to anticipate the worst and save their ships by dragging them up on to the beach. But of the ships on which it fell on the open sea some were driven towards the so-called Ipni in Pelion, others on to the shore. Some were wrecked near Sepias, others by Meliboea, others again by Casthanaea: the fury of the gale was irresistible.

CLXXXIX. There is a story that the Athenians, in accordance with an oracle, called Boreas to their aid, because a further oracle had come bidding them ask assistance from their son-in-law. As the Hellene legend has it, Boreas married an Attic maiden, Orythia, daughter of Erectheus. The Athenians, it is said, remembered this marriage and decided that Boreas was their son-in-law. While, therefore, the sailors who were in ambush at Chalcis in Euboea had watched the progress of the storm, or even before that,

the Athenians were sacrificing and calling on Boreas and Orythia to aid them, and destroy the barbarian vessels, as once before off Athos. I cannot say if it was really for this reason that the storm fell on the barbarians ; whatever it was, the Athenians maintain that Boreas assisted them on both occasions, and set up an altar to him by the River Ilissus.

CXC. In this disaster, these who minimise it as much as possible, say that not less than four hundred vessels perished, with numberless men and treasure. This wreck was very profitable to Ameinocles, son of Cretinaus a Magnesian, who lived near Sepias. The sea engulfed many treasures, and afterwards gold and silver cups, and other treasures of the Persians were found by him, cast up on the shore. This man, who had before been unsuccessful, thanks to this jetsam became rich : yet he had nevertheless to endure sad loss in the murder of his son.

CXCI. No count was made of the transport and provision vessels that were lost ; they were so numerous that the Persian generals, fearing an attack from the Thesalians, built a large rampart from the wreckage. The storm raged for three days. At last the Magi uttered magical incantations and sacrificed some victims to the winds, to Thetis and the Nereids, and caused it to abate on the fourth day, or perhaps the tempest ceased of its own accord. They sacrificed to Thetis because the Ionians told them that in this spot she had been raped by Peleus, and that the shore of Sepias belonged to her as well as to the other Nereids.

CXCII. Thus on the fourth day it ceased. On the second day the scouts on the Euboean mountains ran down to tell the Hellenes of the ravages and wrecks created by the storm. On hearing this, they prayed and poured libations to Poseidon as their saviour, then hastened to take up again their position at Artemisium, hoping to find there but a small number of hostile vessels. Here they remained again in ambush, and initiated a custom which lasts to this day of calling Poseidon, "Saviour."

CXCIII. When the wind ceased and the sea became calm, the barbarians put out to sea and sailed along the coast.

After doubling the promontory of Magnesia, they directed their course to the gulf which leads to Pagasae. There is in this gulf a spot where, it is said, Heracles was deserted by Jason and the other Argonauts, after sending him there to fetch water, when they sailed for the fleece to Colchis. After taking water from this spot, they had purposed to put out to sea again, whence the spot is called Aphetae. Here the fleet of Xerxes anchored.

CXCIV. Fifteen of the vessels, which happened to be in the rear were carried outside the gulf, and saw indistinctly the Hellene ships at Artemisium. They thought that they were friends, and sailing out, fell into the hands of their enemies. They were commanded by Sandoces, son of Thamisius, from Cyme in Æolis, whom Darius had previously had impaled for a fault I will narrate. He was one of the royal judges and had received a bribe and pronounced a most iniquitous sentence. He was already impaled when Darius, after reflection, decided that his services to the royal house outweighed his crime. Darius, recognising that his haste had outrun his wisdom in this matter, released Sandoces. Though he escaped the wrath of Darius, he was not destined to escape a second time when he sailed to meet the Hellenes. They recognised instantly his error, and sailing out captured them.

CXCV. On one of these vessels Aridolis, tyrant of the Alabandians in Caria, was made prisoner; on another was Penthylus, son of Demonous, general of the Paphians, who had brought with him from Paphos twelve ships. Eleven of these had been lost in the storm, while the sole survivor was captured off Artemisium. The Hellenes questioned them about the army of Xerxes, and then sent them in chains to the Isthmus.

CXCVI. The barbarian fleet with the exception of the fifteen vessels under Sandoces reached Aphetae. Xerxes and the land army after crossing Thessaly and Achaea, arrived on the third day at Malis. In Thessaly he had made his horses compete with the Thessalian horses because he had been told that they were the best in Hellas. The Hellene horses were sadly inferior. Of all the rivers in Thessaly, the Onochonus alone did not produce sufficient

water for the army to drink. In Achaea no river, not even the largest, Epidanus, sufficed : it was but mediocre.

CXCVII. On reaching Alus in Achaea, the guides, in their eagerness to relate everything, told Xerxes many local legends, for example, about the shrine of Laphystean Zeus. They said that Athamas, son of Æolus, plotted with Ino to put Phrixus to death. The Achaeans in accordance with an oracle imposed on their descendants the following punishment. The eldest of this line was forbidden to enter the Leitus (Leitus is the Achaeon name for Prytaneum) and this spot they guarded themselves. If he does enter, he only comes out to be sacrificed. Formerly many of those who were going to be sacrificed, became apprehensive and fled into another country. If after a time they come back and are captured, they are sent to the Prytaneum. They are then sacrificed, decked out with bands, and followed by a solemn procession. This is also the penalty paid by the descendants of Cytissorus, son of Phrixus ; because when the Achaeans were purifying their land in accordance with an oracle, and preparing to sacrifice Athamas, son of Æolus, this Cytissorus came from Aia in Colchis and saved him. By this action, he brought on his posterity the vengeance of Heaven. Xerxes, after hearing this story, refrained from entering the sacred grove, and ordered the army to follow his example. Thus he respected the home of the descendants of Athamas, and their shrine.

CXCVIII. I have now stated the events in Thessaly and Achaea. From these countries, the King crossed to Malis, along the gulf of the sea, in which ebb tide and flow took place daily. Near this gulf is a plain, broad in places, narrow elsewhere. Malis is enclosed by lofty and inaccessible mountains called the " Rocks of Trachinia." The first city that meets one on approaching from Achaea is Anticyra, by which the River Spercheius flows from the Enienians' land to the sea. About twenty stades from this is another river called Dyras, which is said to have assisted Heracles when he was on fire. Twenty stades farther on is another river called Melas.

CXCIX. Trachis, the city, is five stades from this River Melas. This is the broadest part of the country—this part



where Trachis stands, from the mountains to the sea. The plain has an extent of twenty-two thousand plethra. The mountains which surround Trachinia are opened by a gorge to the south of Trachis, and through it flows the Asopus past the foot of the mountain.

CC. There is another inconsiderable river south of the Asopus, the Phoenix, which flows from these mountains into the Asopus. The passage by the Phoenix is very narrow, admitting but one chariot. From Phoenix the distance is fifteen stades to Thermopylae. Half-way between the Phoenix and Thermopylae is a village called Anthele, past which the Asopus flows to the sea. The land round it is broad, where stands a temple of Demeter. Here, too, are the seats of the Amphictyones and a temple of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. King Xerxes was encamped at Malis in Trachinia ; the Hellenes in the defile. This spot is called Thermopylae by the majority of the Hellenes, but by the natives and neighbours, Pylae. Each side then was encamped at this spot, the one army occupying all the north as far as Trachis, the other to the south and south-east, the passage which leads from this side of the continent.

CCII. I will now give the names of the Hellenes who awaited the Persians at this spot. Three hundred Spartiate hoplites, a thousand Tegeans and Mantineans, five hundred of each ; from Orchomenus and Arcadia a hundred and twenty, from the rest of Arcadia, a thousand. From Corinth four hundred, from Phlion two hundred, from Mycenae eighty. There were the Peloponnesians. There were from Boeotia seven hundred Thespians, and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition, the Opuntian Locrians responded with their whole army, and a thousand Phocians. The other Hellenes had invited them, informing them by means of messengers that they had come as advance guard, and that the rest of the allies were daily expected, that the sea was guarded by the Athenians, Æginetans, and all who composed the fleet, and that there was really nothing to fear. "It is not a god," said the envoys, "who is invading Hellas, but a mere mortal. It has never happened and never will happen that a man from the day of his birth should suffer no misfortune : the greater the man, the greater his fall.



It follows then that he who attacks us being a mortal is likely to be disappointed in his hopes." When they had listened to this discourse, they marched out to Trachis.

CCIV. Each town had chosen its general : but the most esteemed, in fact the man who held the supreme command, was Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, son of Leon, son of Eurycratides, son of Anaxandrus, son of Eurycrates, son of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, son of Telecles, son of Archelaus, son of Agesiles, son of Doryssus, son of Leobotes, son of Echestratus, son of Agis, son of Eurysthenes, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles, who had unexpectedly obtained the kingship in Sparta.

CCV. He had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, and had abandoned all hope of the throne. But Cleomenes died without male issue, and Dorieus had been slain in Sicily, thus the kingship came to Leonidas, because he had been born before Cleombrotus, the last of the sons of Anaxandrides, and had also married the daughter of Cleomenes. He therefore went to Thermopylae, after having chosen three hundred men, all of whom had children. On his way he had taken with him the Thebans whose numbers I have mentioned, who were led by Leontiades, son of Eurymachus. He had hastened to secure them among all the Hellenes, because they were gravely suspected of medising. He asked them to join to see whether they would come or would openly repudiate Hellas. Despite their divergent views, they sent him assistance.

CCVI. The Spartiatae sent Leonidas and his companions in front, in order that the other allies might not medise if they saw themselves hesitating in the slightest. Nevertheless the feast of Carnean Apollo prevented them from marching out. They proposed after the feast to leave a garrison in Sparta and then to go out in full strength. The other allies had the same purpose and a similar obstacle : the Olympiad fell precisely in the midst of these grave matters, and seeing that they never expected a battle at Thermopylae so soon, they too had sent an advance guard, determining to do afterwards as the Spartiatae.

CCVII. The Hellenes at Thermopylae began to discuss

retreat when they saw the Persians preparing to force the pass. The Peloponnesians suggested a retreat to the Isthmus, which could then be defended ; but Leonidas, when he saw the annoyance of the Phocians and Locrians voted that they should remain where they were, and send messengers asking for assistance from the cities, since they were too few to repel the Median attack.

CCVIII. While they were deliberating, Xerxes sent a horseman to ascertain their numbers and what they were doing. He had been told while in Thessaly that this handful of men had gathered there under the leadership of the Lacedemonians and Leonidas, a Heraclid. When the horseman approached the camp, he examined it, but did not see it all. He could not see those who were stationed to guard the walls that they had raised. He saw those who were outside, whose arms were leaning against the wall. The Lacedemonians happened to be at this time outside their camp. He saw the men naked, combing their hair. After careful observation he returned unmolested : no one followed him, in fact no attention was paid to him. He then related to Xerxes what he had seen.

CCIX. Xerxes was unable to grasp the truth, that the Hellenes were preparing to die and to slay as many of the enemy as possible. Their enemies seemed to him ridiculous. He sent for Demaratus who was in the camp and asked him what the Lacedemonians were doing. He said : " I told you, before we started for Hellas, about these men. For my pains I was laughed at, though the matter has turned out even as I foretold. Yet, O King, I find it in my conscience to tell you the truth. Listen therefore. These men have come to dispute the pass with us. It is their custom, when they are about to risk their lives, to adorn their heads. Learn then, O King, if you overthrow these, and the remnant that are in Sparta, there is no other race of men that will oppose your path. Now you are fighting against the noblest kingdom in Hellas, and the noblest men." Xerxes considered these remarks most incredible, and asked again how, with their inferior numbers, they could attack his army. He said : " O King, treat me as a liar if what I say does not happen."

CCX. Even then he did not convince Xerxes. He waited yet four days hoping that they would retire. On the fifth, since they showed no sign of departing but seemed in obstinacy and folly to remain, he became angry and despatched the Medes and Kissians against them, ordering them to bring the men alive into his presence. The Medes charged with fury, but a large number of them fell: the Kissians rushed on in their turn but could not shake the defence, despite the terror of the shock. It became obvious to all, particularly to the King, that he commanded many men, but few heroes. The fight lasted all the day.

CCXI. The Medes retreated with great loss: the Persians took their place: they were those who were called immortals by the King, under the command of Hydarnes, and Xerxes imagined that he had sent them to acquire an easy victory. When they attacked the Hellenes, man to man, they had no greater success than the Medes, because they fought in a circumscribed space, and used shorter javelins than those of the Hellenes, and could not even make use of their numbers. The Lacedemonians fought admirably, and showed the might of veterans against those who are unexercised in warfare. When they turned their backs, they retired in serried mass, and the barbarians rushed on them with tumultuous shouts. They turned round to receive the barbarians, and slew countless numbers of the Persians, while but a few of their own men fell. The Persians, after failing to occupy the pass despite their endeavours by battalion or otherwise, finally retreated.

CCXII. During this part of the battle it is said that the King, who was looking on, jumped three times from his throne in his anxiety for the army. Such was the fight on the first day. The second day produced no amelioration for the barbarians. The small numbers of the Hellenes, the hope that their wounds would prevent them from again resisting, encouraged the barbarians to begin once more. The Hellenes were drawn up in lines, and by battalion and by nation fought in turns, with the exception of the Phocians, who had been stationed at the summit of the mountain to guard the path. The Persians, meeting with no more success than on the former day, retired once more.

CCXIII. The King was filled with anxiety and did not know what to do. Then there came to him Ephialtes, son of Eurydemus, a Malian, with high hopes of reward. He indicated the path which led across the mountains to Thermopylae, and thus betrayed the Hellenes who were guarding it. Afterwards, in fear of the Lacedemonians, he fled to Thessaly, and a reward was offered for his head by the Pylagorans, while the Amphictyones were assembled at the Pylae. Some time after he came down to Anticyra, and was slain by Athenades, a Trachinian. Athenades, as a matter of fact, slew Ephialtes for some other reason, which I will subsequently narrate, but was none the less honoured by the Lacedemonians. Thus Ephialtes died after this.

CCXIV. There is another story that Onetes, son of Phanagoras a Carystian, and Corydallus of Anticyra are the men who spoke thus to the King and showed the mountain path to the Persians—though I do not believe it. We must judge from this fact, that the Hellene Pylagorans set a price not on the heads of Onetes and Corydallus, but on the head of Ephialtes, after hearing the truth of the whole matter: further we knew that Ephialtes fled because of his crime. Onetes, it is true, although no Malian, could quite easily have known of the path, if he had had business often in the country. But I maintain that it was Ephialtes who betrayed the path.

CCXV. Xerxes approved of the suggestions of Ephialtes, and became filled with eagerness, and despatched Hydarnes and his men thither. The immortals left the camp at the time when the lamps are lighted. The native Malians had found the path first and straightway showed it to the Thessalians that they might attack the Phocians, at the moment when the latter, closing the pass with a barrier, had fortified themselves against attack. Since this time it does not appear that the Malians had used it.

CCXVI. The path is of this description: it begins at the Asopus which flows through the ravine, and the mountain and the path have the same name, Anopaea. The path of Anopaea extends as far as the crest of the mountain and descends upon the city of Alpenus, the first of the Locrians



on the Malian side : it is narrowest by the rock called Melampygos, and the abode of the Cercopae.

CCXVII. By a path of this nature the Persians marched all night, after crossing the Asopus, keeping the mountains of Œta on the right, the Trachinian range on the left. At dawn they had reached the summit. This mountain, as I have said before, was guarded by the thousand Phocian hoplites ; they guarded their own country and the path. The pass at the foot was guarded by those already mentioned by me. This post the Phocians had spontaneously offered to guard for Leonidas.

CCXVIII. I will now relate how the Phocians became aware of the approach of the barbarians. The Persians climbed up unperceived owing to the oak-trees which cover the mountain. The night was calm, and the sound of the dead leaves beneath their feet became audible from afar. The Phocians arose, armed themselves, and rushed to the summit of the mount : straightway the barbarians appeared. The appearance of armed men astonished the Persians. They had hoped that no one would oppose their advance, and they now found themselves face to face with an army. Then Hydarnes, fearing that these might be Lacedemonians, asked them from what country they were, and Ephialtes told him exactly. Whereat he drew up the Persians for battle. The Phocians received a hail of darts, and fled to the fastnesses of the mountain. Being persuaded that they were the object of this attack, they prepared to die. Yet Ephialtes, Hydarnes and the other Persians took but little count of them, and descended speedily the other side of the mountain.

CCXIX. The seer Megistias, after examining the victims, announced to the Hellenes assembled at Thermopylae that death would come to them on the morrow with the dawn. Moreover, certain deserters arrived and told them of the path the Persians had taken. It was still night when this news arrived : but last of all, as day began to dawn, the scout ran down from the mountains and confirmed the report. Then the Hellenes deliberated and there was much division of opinion. Some did not wish to leave their posts, others desired to go. Eventually some departed and re-



turned each to his own city, but the rest resolved to abide by Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said that he himself sent away the first, wishing to save their lives, while for him and the Spartiatae who accompanied him, it was impossible to quit their post. I am of opinion, however, that Leonidas, when he saw the zeal of the allies on the wane, and their reluctance to risk all with himself, bade them retreat, knowing that he himself could not retire with honour. By abiding, he acquired deathless fame, and the glory of Sparta was not lessened. Ever since the beginning of the war, when the Spartiatae had consulted the Pythoness, she answered and said that either Lacedemon would be destroyed by the barbarian or that her King would fall. These are the hexameters :

‘Hear, O ye men that dwell in the realm of broad Lacedemon !  
 Either your town shall fall beneath the onslaught of Persia,  
 Or the whole race shall mourn the death of one of their leaders,  
 Race from Heracles sprung : nor lions nor bulls shall withstand  
 them ;  
 Mighty is he as Zeus, and will not be turned from pursuing,  
 Till he make one or other the victim of vengeance demanded.’”

Leonidas, bearing well in mind this oracle, and wishing that his glory should be reflected on the Spartiatae alone, sent away the allies ; otherwise I do not think that their disgraceful departure would have taken place at so critical a time, whatever was the difference of opinion.

CCXXI. I have a sufficient proof for my theory. Leonidas sent away not only the others, but even the seer who accompanied their forces, Megistias the Acarnanian ; he descended, it is said, from Melampus, and it was he who predicted what was going to happen after inspecting the victims. It is clear that Leonidas dismissed him in order that he should not die with him. Nevertheless he refused to go, but sent his only son who served in the army.

CCXXII. The allies returned home after their dismissal, in obedience to Leonidas : but the Thespians and Thebans alone remained with the Lacedemonians. Of these, the Thebans were unwillingly constrained to remain—Leonidas kept them as hostages—but the Thespians voluntarily.

They refused to leave Leonidas and his companions, but remained and perished with him. They were commanded by Demophilus, son of Diadromes.

CCXXIII. At sunrise Xerxes poured libations and waited to make his attack until the hour when the market is filled. Ephialtes had indicated this, based upon the calculation that the descent from a mountain is less tortuous and requires less time than ascent and circumambulation. Then the barbarians of Xerxes rushed forward, and the Hellenes with Leonidas, resolved to die like men, deployed into a part of the pass far wider than that in which they had previously fought. At first, they had relied upon the assistance of the rampart, and had fought in the narrowest part of the defile. On this day in the open space the barbarians fell on them in countless numbers. Behind the battalions the leaders flogged every man into battle, urging them ever to the front. Many of them fell into the sea and perished: many more were trampled underfoot still alive by their comrades: no one noticed the dead. The Hellenes, knowing that they were going to be slain by the sword of those who had rounded the mountain, displayed the greatest bravery possible against the barbarians, despising danger and risking their lives.

CCXXIV. The greater part soon had their javelins broken, and then betook themselves to their swords. Leonidas fell in this fight after having fought most bravely, and with him fell other illustrious Spartiatae, whose names I have had told me, as of men worthy of everlasting renown: I heard the names of all the three hundred. Many noble Persians fell, two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, born to Darius by Phratagoune, daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of King Darius, and son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames. With his daughter, Artanes gave Darius all his wealth, for she was his only child.

CCXXV. Thus too perished two brothers of Xerxes while fighting over the corpse of Leonidas, during which conflict the shock between the Persians and Lacedemonians was terrible. The latter, by strenuous efforts, four times picked it up and repulsed their enemies. The combat lasted until the band arrived with Ephialtes. When the

Hellenes became aware of his presence, the face of the battle was changed. They retreated to the narrowest part of the defile, repassed the wall, and rested on the hill in a serried mass, the Thebans alone being absent. This eminence is at the entrance of the pass, where nowadays is to be seen the lion which was erected in memory of Leonidas. The survivors defended themselves here with their swords, hands and teeth: meanwhile the barbarians overwhelmed them with darts, some attacking from the front after having thrown down the barrier, while others surrounded them from all directions.

CCXXVI. Among the Lacedemonians and Thespians the palm of valour must be awarded to the Spartiate Dieneces. There is still remembered a remark that he made before engaging the Medes. He was told by one of the Trachinians that when the barbarians let fly their arrows, the sun would be hidden by them. This did not amaze him at all: he thought but little of the numbers of the Medes, and said that the information of the Trachinian was delightful. If the Medes hid the sun, they would be able to fight in the shade, and not beneath its burning rays. This remark and many others like it did Dieneces leave as a memorial of himself to the Spartiatae.

CCXXVII. After him, the Lacedemonians praise two brothers, Alpheus and Maron, sons of Orsiphantus. The bravest of the Thespians was called Dithyrambus, son of Harmatides.

CCXXVIII. The dead were buried on the spot where they had fallen, and on the tomb of those who died before Leonidas dismissed the allies, can be read this inscription:

“Here were checked in their course the countless myriads of  
Persia,  
By but four thousand men of the Peloponnese.”

Over the Spartiates was written:

“Go, stranger, tell it in Sparta forthwith that here we are lying,  
Having indeed fulfilled all that they sent us to do.”

For the seer, there were these lines:

“ Here is the tomb of Megistias whom the Medes slaughtered  
When they had crossed Spercheius, seer of wisdom profound,  
Who knowing well that fate had cut him off from the living,  
Stayed with the Spartan band, left not his leaders at need.”

The Amphietyones had the inscriptions engraved on the first two tombs, but Simonides, son of Leoprope, worked the inscription for Megistias, who had been his guest.

CCXXIX. Two of the three hundred, Eurytus and Aristodemus, it is said, were permitted either to return safe to Sparta, since they had been sent from the camp by Leonidas and were resting at Alpenus because they suffered severely from ophthalmia, or otherwise to die with the rest. They, however, disagreed. Eurytus, hearing of the rear movement of the Persians, called for his arms, put them on, and made his helot guide him into battle. When they reached the fight, the helot fled, but Eurytus perished fighting. Aristodemus' courage failed him and he survived. If Aristodemus had alone been suffering, or if both had returned, I do not think that the Spartiatae would have blamed them. But seeing that one of them died, and the other, who had no different motive for not dying, yet refused, their anger was greatly roused against Aristodemus.

CCXXX. According to one story Aristodemus returned safe and sound to Sparta on this pretext. Others say that he was sent out of the camp as a messenger, and that he could choose whether or not to take part in the battle. He did not wish it, but survived through dallying on the way, but that his fellow-messenger perished fighting.

CCXXXI. On returning to Sparta Aristodemus was the object of universal unpopularity. The indignities that he suffered were these : no Spartiate would admit him to his hearth : no one spoke to him, and he was called Aristodemus, the Trembler. Yet at the battle of Plataea he made reparation for his fault.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred, being sent as messenger to Thessaly, escaped. He was called Pantites. When he returned to Sparta, he strangled himself when he found that he was unpopular.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans who were commanded by

Leontiades, so long as they were with the Hellenes were constrained to fight against the King. But when they saw fortune declaring itself on the Persian side, and after Leonidas and the Hellenes had retired to the hill, they separated from them, and holding out their hands approached the barbarians, and told them a story which was very true: that they had medised, had been the first to give earth and water to the King, but had been compelled to go to Thermopylae, and were in no way responsible for the King's losses. They called the Thessalians as witnesses of their veracity. They were not entirely successful. The barbarians received them as they came, and slew some of the foremost, but according to the command of Xerxes, set on them the royal seal, beginning from Leontiades their general, whose son Eurymachus the Plataeans afterwards slew when he attacked and took the Plataean citadel with four hundred Thebans.

CCXXXIV. Such was the conduct of the Hellenes at Thermopylae, and Xerxes called Demaratus and questioned him: "Demaratus, you are an honest man: and withal truthful. As you predicted, so has it turned out. Tell me now, how many Lacedemonians are there remaining, and how many of them are so practised in warfare? Are they all like this?" He answered: "The Lacedemonians, sire, are populous and their cities are many. I will tell you what you wish to learn. There is in Lacedemon a city, Sparta by name, with a population of about eight thousand, and all these are great warriors as those you have seen. The other Lacedemonians are not the same, yet they are brave." Then answered Xerxes: "Demaratus, what is the easiest way to defeat them? Tell me without hesitation, seeing that you understand their method of council, having been once their King."

CCXXXV. Demaratus replied: "If you ask my advice with confidence, I must make the soundest suggestions to you. Send three hundred ships against Laconia. There is an island lying near it called Cythera: Chilon, a man who had the greatest reputation for wisdom among us, said that it was far better for the Spartiatae that this island should be at the bottom of the sea, predicting that something would



happen one day as I indicate. He did not, of course, foresee your expedition, but he feared that it might be occupied by some enemy or other. Your fleet from this island will strike terror into the Lacedemonian hearts. When they have war at their doors, menacing their hearths, you need not fear that they will go to the assistance of the rest of Hellas, which your army will then occupy entirely. When the rest of Hellas falls, the Lacedemonians will be enfeebled and isolated. If you act otherwise, I must tell you what to expect. In the Peloponnese there is a narrow Isthmus. In this spot, with all the Peloponnesians united, you must expect to fight battles even more bloody than the one you have lately experienced. If you do as I suggest, the Isthmus and the cities will fall without a blow."

CCXXXVI. After him spoke Achaemenes, brother of Xerxes, and admiral of the fleet, who happened to be present. Fearing lest Xerxes should be convinced and do as had been suggested, he said: "You have been listening, sire, to the words of a man who envies you your prosperity and would betray your good fortune. The Hellenes delight to display these characteristics, and have an innate envy of success and hatred of authority. But if, after the wreck of four hundred ships, you despatch another three hundred to sail round the Peloponnese, your enemies will be fighting you on equal terms. United, they would find the fleet invincible, and moreover their inferiority in numbers will be marked. Moreover, the fleet supports the army and the army the fleet; if you divide them, neither can help the other. Manage your own plans wisely and do not seek for information about the number, plans or movements of the enemy. They can think for themselves, we also for ourselves. Let the Lacedemonians attack us! They will not heal the wounds they have received.

CCXXXVII. Then said Xerxes: "Achaemenes, your advice is excellent and I will follow it. Demaratus spoke as he thought best, but you have done better. I cannot, however, admit that he does not take kindly interest in my fortune, which I infer from previous conversations with him. I know too that a citizen envies a fellow-citizen who is successful, hating him in silence. If the latter ask his

advice he avoids suggesting what he really thinks is the best unless he have attained a very high degree of virtue—but such men are few. But a guest is the most helpful of friends for his prosperous host. Therefore, let us have no more evil spoken of Demaratus who is my guest.”

CCXXXVIII. After these words, Xerxes traversed the field of battle. Being told that Leonidas was King and general of the Lacedemonians, he ordered his head to be cut off and impaled. This incident, and many others, proves to me that Xerxes was more bitter against Leonidas living than any other mortal. Otherwise he would not have committed these outrages on the corpse, since, as far as I know, Persians treat with the highest honour men who have fallen bravely in battle.

CCXXXIX. I return to a point in my story where I have omitted something. The Lacedemonians received the first information of the King's preparations against Hellas. Therefore they sent to the oracle at Delphi, and received the answer which I have mentioned before. They were informed in this marvellous way. Demaratus, son of Ariston, after fleeing to the Medes, as I think, and probability supports my view, was by no means favourably disposed to the Lacedemonians; it remains to be decided whether he acted out of good will, or with a desire to triumph over them. When Xerxes determined to invade Hellas, Demaratus was at Susa, and on hearing the decision, wished to send word to the Lacedemonians. But he ran great risk of being discovered. Therefore he devised this scheme. He took a double tablet, removed the wax, and wrote on the wood the project of the King. After doing this he covered the writing with wax, in order that the messenger might cause no suspicion to the guardians of the road. When it arrived at Lacedemon, no one, I am told, understood the matter, until Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, examined it, and told them to take off the wax, announcing that they would find a letter on the wood. They did as she suggested, found it, and announced its contents to the other Hellenes. Such is the story.

## BOOK VIII

### URANIA

I. THE Hellene states who contributed to the fleet, were the following. The Athenians supplied a hundred and twenty-seven men-of-war : the Plataeans, whose ignorance of seamanship was counterbalanced by their vigour and enthusiasm, assisted in manning these vessels. The Corinthians sent forty, the citizens of Megara twenty. The Chalcidians put crews into twenty ships which the Athenians lent them, the Æginetans produced eighteen, the men of Sicyon twelve, the Lacedemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven ; from Troezen came five, from the Styreans two, and from the Ceians two triremes and two penteconters. The Opuntian Locrians also assisted to the extent of seven penteconters.

II. These then were the names of the states whose naval contingents assembled at Artemisium. I have already narrated the numbers contributed severally. Apart from penteconters, the total number of men-of-war at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy-one. The Spartans supplied the admiral-in-chief, one Eurybiades, the son of Eurycleides, for the allies refused to serve under an Athenian, and threatened to ruin the prospective campaign by desertion unless a Spartan were their leader.

III. It had originally been considered a foregone conclusion, before overtures for assistance were made to Sicily, that the Athenians should control the naval contingent. They yielded, however, to the opposition of the allies, rightly considering that the salvation of Hellas was of primary importance. Nor did they fail to realise that internal disagreement about the question of supreme command would inevitably result in the ruin of Hellas. Civil

war contrasts as unfavourably with the war between different states, as does the principle of war with the principle of peace. Realising this truth, they relinquished all counter-claims, and gave way, so long as they needed the allies as they clearly showed. Afterwards, when the Persian had been repulsed and Hellas was preparing to carry the attack into the enemy's land, they availed themselves of the excuse afforded by the outrageous conduct of Pausanius to deprive the Spartans of the supreme command. But I am anticipating.

IV. On arriving at Artemisium, the Hellenes were much surprised to find a number of the enemy's ships already at Aphetae, and everything bristling with warlike preparations. They had not divined this present juncture, and in apprehension of a general panic purposed to leave Artemisium and retire southward into Hellas. The Euboeans, on receiving this information, begged Eurybiades to wait a little while, until they should have conveyed their households to a place of safety. Being unsuccessful in their attempt, they went to Themistocles the Athenian admiral, and persuaded him, with a contribution of thirty talents, to remain off Euboea and fight.

V. Themistocles devised the following schemes for checking the retreat of the Greeks. He gave Eurybiades five of the talents which he had received, with the semblance of personal generosity. Having secured his support, there remained only the opposition of Adeimantus, the son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who threatened to sail and not fight off Artemisium. Themistocles addressed him in the following way:—"You, at least, shall not leave us, for I will send you a larger bribe than the King of the Persians will give you for deserting your allies." This message, which was sent to the flagship of Adeimantus, was accompanied by a donation of three talents. Thus bribery triumphed, the Euboeans were gratified, and Themistocles made considerable profit by concealing the existence of the rest of the bribe, and allowing the men who shared it to believe that the money had been sent from Athens for this purpose.

VI. Thus they were induced to remain, and fight the

inevitable battle, which took place in this way. Information had reached the barbarians that a few Hellene ships were waiting off Artemisium, and when they came to Aphetae in the early afternoon, they saw the ships with their own eyes, and were seized with an enthusiastic desire to attack them; for they were sanguine of success. They did not consider it advisable to bear down straight upon the enemy, lest the Hellenes should become aware of their approach, and thus be enabled to escape, with the probable assistance of nightfall to prevent pursuit. This seemed to promise certain escape, and they thought it essential that not even a torchbearer should be permitted to survive.

VII. In view of these apprehensions, their plan of action was the following:—They would choose two hundred vessels and send them out to the east of Sciathus, to sail round Euboea unperceived by the enemy past Capheres and Geraestus to the Euripus. Thus they intended to enclose the Hellenes, and while preventing their rearward escape with these vessels, to themselves attack from in front. Acting on these lines, they despatched the stipulated number of ships, but had no intention of attacking on this same day, nor even before they received the signal that this detachment had reached its destination. After this, they held a muster of the ships that remained at Aphetae.

VIII. At this time, while the Persians were holding their muster, there happened to be in the camp one Scyllias, the most famous diver of that age. In the shipwreck which had befallen them off Pelion, he had assisted the Persians in recovering many valuables, and had not been a niggard on his own account. Now he had long had the idea of deserting to the Hellenes, but opportunity had hitherto failed him. The actual manner of his arrival at the Hellene squadron defies accurate narration, and I really wonder if the story can be true. It is supposed that he dived into the sea at Aphetae, and did not come up again until he reached Artemisium, having traversed a distance of about eighty stades<sup>1</sup> under water. There are nowadays many other doubtful stories about this man, but some of them actually are true. My private opinion is that he was conveyed in

<sup>1</sup> A matter of seven miles.



a ship to Artemisium. As soon as he arrived, he related the circumstances of the wreck, and the device of the two hundred ships.

IX. On learning this, the Hellenes held a council of war. After much discussion, it was decided to remain all day and, after the usual nightly bivouac, to put out at midnight, and sail down on the two hundred vessels that were sailing round Euboea. Subsequently, as no one attacked them, and the evening was coming on, they themselves sailed out against the barbarians, wishing to satisfy themselves as to the nature of their warfare, and their skill in naval tactics.

X. Now when the other admirals and sailors of Xerxes saw the Hellenes approaching in so few ships, they thought them entirely mad, and put out to sea themselves, with high hopes of victory—which was very reasonable and probable. Comparing the paucity and condition of the Hellene ships with their own numbers and superior sailing powers, they began an outflanking movement to surround them. At this the Ionians, whose sympathies were with Hellas, though they had joined the Persian under compulsion, began to be very sorry for them, and opined that none of them would ever see home again, so lamentably weak did the position of the Hellenes appear to be. On the other hand, among the others who rejoiced at the Hellene dilemma, there arose a keen rivalry to be the first to take an Attic vessel and receive substantial recognition from the King for this feat. Now the Athenians had the highest reputation among their foemen's ranks.

XI. At the first signal, with their prows facing the barbarians, they drew their stems together at a central point and in fan-shape formation; at the second sound of the trumpet, they commenced fighting, though circumscribed by the narrowness of the strait, and the fact that they were engaged prow to prow. The upshot was the capture of thirty of the barbarians' ships, together with Philaon, the son of Xerxes, and brother of Gorgus, the King of Salamis, a person of some repute in their army. The first of the Hellenes to capture an enemy's ship was an Athenian, named Lycomedes, the son of Æschreus, and he consequently received the prize for valour. Night, however,

put an end to the combat which had no decisive termination. The Hellenes then sailed back to Artemisium, and the barbarians returned to Aphetae, feeling considerable surprise at the result of the fighting. In this engagement, Antidorus, a Lemnian, was the only Hellene who deserted the King and joined his fellow-countrymen; in recognition of this fact, the Athenians gave him some property in Salamis.

XII. It was midsummer, and after the fall of kindly night, there fell unceasing rain all night long, and loud thunderings were heard from Mount Pelion. Bodies and wreckage were swept along to Aphetae, and became an impediment round the ships' prows, and damaged the oar blades. The soldiers were terrified at the noise of the storm, and expected, in their evil plight, to be absolutely annihilated. For, before they had a breathing space to recover from the shipwreck and the storm which had taken place in the neighbourhood of Mount Pelion, they had fought a severe sea-fight, and immediately to it succeeded a blinding rainstorm, with loud thunderings, and streams of water rushing forcefully down to the sea.

XIII. Such then was the result of the storm at Aphetae. But this same night was far more disastrous to the detachment that was ordered to sail round Euboea, insomuch that the storm fell upon them out on the open sea, and their fate was most unpleasant. The rain and the wind took them when just off the "The Hollows" of Euboea, in which predicament they were driven before the wind, and, being ignorant of their direction, were dashed upon the rocks. All this occurred through the direct interposition of the deity, who wished to humble the Persian before Hellas, and deprive him of his numerical superiority. Thus this contingent was wrecked off "The Hollows" of Euboea.

XIV. Pleasant was the dawn of day to the barbarians at Aphetae, who kept their ships floating at rest; it sufficed them in their evil plight to remain for the present inactive. The Hellenes, however, received reinforcements to the number of fifty-three Attic vessels. Their arrival, simultaneous with that of a messenger who narrated the total

destruction by storm of the Euboean detachment of the barbarian fleet, produced much exaltation of spirit. Again they waited until the afternoon, and again sailed out against some Cilician ships, which they completely routed. At nightfall they sailed back to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day, the barbarian admirals were somewhat indignant at the insulting behaviour of such a tiny contingent, and felt apprehensive of the wrath of Xerxes. Consequently they did not wait for the Hellenes to begin battle, but led out their ships towards midday with reciprocated shouts of encouragement. On the same day as this naval battle took place the famous struggle at Thermopylae. The combatants at sea were principally concerned with the defence of the Euripus, while Leonidas devoted all his energies to repelling the Persian attack from the pass. The Hellenes exhorted one another to save Hellas from the barbarian inroad, while the barbarians were animated with the desire of destroying the Hellene fleet, in order to win a passage through.

XVI. The Hellenes calmly awaited the approach of Xerxes' fleet off Artemisium. The barbarians therefore arranged themselves in crescent shape, and endeavoured to effect the capture of the enemy by an outflanking movement. Thereupon the Hellenes sailed out and joined battle. In the actual fighting on this occasion neither side gained the advantage. But the Persian fleet, owing to its numbers and bulk, became unmanageable, with the result that the ships crashed into one another, spreading the confusion. Nevertheless they held out sturdily, and relaxed their efforts no whit, realising how shameful it would be to be routed by a diminutive squadron. The Hellenes lost many ships and many men, but the barbarian suffered still greater losses. And so they separated.

XVII. In this battle, the palm of honour must be awarded to the Egyptians, who performed many notable deeds, capturing for Xerxes five Hellene vessels with their crews. Among the Hellenes, the Athenians distinguished themselves most remarkably, and chief among them was Cleinias, the son of Alcibiades, who provided two hundred men and a man-of-war at his own expense.

XVIII. Both sides were glad enough to retire, and ride at anchor. After leaving the scene of battle, the Hellenes devoted themselves to the rescue of the wrecks and the collecting of their dead. They had suffered very severely, not the least in this respect being the Athenians, half of whose ships were disabled, and they naturally contemplated a retreat towards Hellas.

XIX. Now Themistocles opined that if they could once detach the Ionians and Carians from the barbarian, it would be quite feasible to overcome the rest. He called his generals to a meeting, at the moment when the Euboeans were conveying their cattle to a place of safety, and explained to them that he had a plan for detaching the best of the allies from their allegiance to Xerxes. He made no further disclosure, but gave a suggestion to the following effect. On the principle that it would be better for them to have the cattle, rather than that the enemy should secure them, each man should take as many as he wanted to sacrifice, and each light a fire. He would himself superintend the transport, and assure them a safe return to Hellas. The idea pleased them; they lighted fires and started to slaughter the cattle.

XX. The Euboeans had ignored the oracle of Bacis, on the plea of insignificance, and had neglected to convey their families into safety in view of the impending war, or even to collect grain into their forts. Consequently they had only themselves to thank for their disaster. Now this was the oracle delivered by Bacis :

“ Keep far away from Euboea the herds of goats loudly bleating,  
What time the barbarous hordes with biblus yoke the sea’s  
highway.”

Disregard for these verses, both at that time and in subsequent years, brought disaster upon disaster, and grievously affected their most vital interests.

XXI. To return to the Hellenes. At this juncture a scout arrived from Trachis; for there had been a scout, by name Polyas, of Anticyra, stationed at Artemisium, with orders to announce to the combatants at Thermopylae any difficulties of the fleet. He kept a rowing boat ready



for this purpose. In just the same manner Leonidas had ordered Abronychus, the son of Lysicles, an Athenian, to keep a penteconter in readiness to sail to Artemisium and relate the fortune of war on land if any disaster should befall them. So Abronychus arrived and told them of the fate of Leonidas and his comrades. On the receipt of this information, the Hellenes no longer postponed their departure, but retreated in the order in which they happened to be, the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles chose the fastest sailing vessels and proceeded to the regions where fresh water was abundant. Here, on the rocks, he engraved certain messages, which the Ionians, on arriving at Artemisium the next day, were able to decipher. The gist of the writing was this: "Men of Ionia, it is wrong for you to make war on the race from which you sprang, and to assist in the subjugation of Hellas. Your best course is to join us. If you find that impossible, we beg of you to fight without zeal; you should ask the Carians to do the same for you. If neither course is feasible, and you feel yourselves too strongly coerced to admit of desertion, then, when battle comes, do not fight to win, but bear well in mind that ours is your mother country, that you yourselves brought upon us the enmity of the barbarian." It seems to me that when Themistocles wrote this, he had two possibilities in view. If the King did not see the writing, the Ionians might be induced to desert and join the Hellenes, or, if it were communicated to Xerxes, and regarded as suspicious, the King's easily aroused distrust would cause him to leave the Ionians out of his naval contingent.

XXIII. Immediately after Themistocles had completed his scheme, a boat approached the barbarian fleet, and the occupant, a man of Histiaea, announced to them the flight of the Hellenes from Artemisium. His story was treated with suspicion, and he was placed under arrest, while some fast-sailing vessels were despatched to reconnoitre. The story was confirmed, and at last, as the sun's rays illumined the sky, the whole armament began to sail towards Artemisium. Here they abode until midday, and proceeded thence to Histiaea. They captured the



town and the district of Ellopia, and overran all the coast-lying villages of the Histiaean territory.

XXIV. Meanwhile Xerxes sent a herald to the fleet, since he had completed all preparations for burying the dead. Now this is what he had done. There were actually twenty thousand dead left at Thermopylae where his troops had fought. Of these he ignored a thousand, but the rest he caused to be buried, raising barrows over them and sprinkling leaves thereon, in order to render them invisible to his fleet. The herald therefore crossed to Histiaea and spoke as follows before an assemblage of the entire fleet:—"Allies, Xerxes the King permits each of you to leave his post and come where he may behold the fate of those senseless mortals who hoped to resist the royal power."

XXV. At this there ensued a great demand for boats: for there were so many who wished to see. They crossed over, and traversed the field of battle, gazing on the dead. All were led to believe that the fallen warriors were Lacedaemonians and Thespians, since they saw the helots with them. But they were not led astray by the royal deception about the Persian dead. This would have been too ridiculous. On the one side there were a thousand scattered corpses visible, while the rest, to the number of four thousand, were collected together in a heap at the same spot. They spent the whole day in sightseeing, and on the next day the sailors returned in their boats to Histiaea, while the land army began its forward march.

XXVI. A few deserters joined them from Arcadia, who begged for food and employment. They were conducted to the King's presence, and information was extracted from them about the Hellene movements. One man interrogated them on behalf of the King. They told them that the Hellenes were holding the Olympic Games and watching gymnastic displays and horse-racing. He then asked what the prize might be for which they competed. They replied that it was a crown of olive. Hereupon Tigranes, the son of Artabanus, was convicted of cowardice by the King for giving expression to a most high-minded sentiment. When he heard the prize was a crown and not money, he

could not refrain from saying: "Heavens, Mardonius! against what man have you brought us! they contend not for money, but for honour."

XXVII. Meanwhile, after the disaster at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, for whom they had always conceived dislike, which had become aggravated after this episode. The Thessalians and their allies had invaded the Phocian territory, not many years before the Persian inroad, and had suffered grievous defeat at their hands. For, when the Phocians had been enclosed on Mount Parnassus, after taking with them the seer Tellias of Elea, the same Tellias had devised a plan to outwit their foes. They smeared six hundred of the bravest Phocians with chalk—their arms as well—and despatched them by night against the Thessalians, with orders to kill anyone who was not similarly smeared. The first sight of these men produced a panic among the Thessalian pickets, who thought they were ghosts, and this fear infected the whole army, with the result that the Phocians captured four thousand corpses and shields, half of which they placed in the temple of Abae, the other half at Delphi. From a tenth of the gold they acquired were made the great statues which stand round the tripod before the temple at Delphi. Others of the same kind were set up at Abae.

XXVIII. This was the treatment which the Thessalian foot endured at the hands of the Phocians, while their cavalry which invaded their territory suffered terribly. In the assaults on Hyampolis, the Phocians dug an enormous trench and filled it with empty wine-jars. They then covered it with earth and levelled the ground. The Thessalians who came up to attack, thinking to make short work of the Phocians, naturally crashed on to the wine-jars, and broke their horses' legs.

XXIX. With these grounds for enmity against one another, the Thessalians then sent their herald, who spoke as follows:—"Men of Phocis, now is the time to recognise our superiority. Whenever we pleased, we were always more influential among the Hellenes in the old days than you were, and at present we stand so high in the great King's favour that it will be left to us to ravage your land

and take you prisoners, or spare you utterly. Since we have you in the hollow of our hand, we bear you no malice for your former misdeeds, but on the payment of fifty talents of silver we will divert the stream of invasion from your territory."

XXX. Such was the Thessalian message. The Phocians, however, were the only state in that district that had not joined the Persians, for no other reason, I infer, than their hatred of the Thessalians. Had the Thessalians supported Hellas, it is my belief that the Phocians would have gone over to the Persian King. To the overtures of the Thessalians, they answered in the negative, refusing to provide money; for, as they said, it was just as easy for them to medise if they chose, as it was for the Thessalians. But they maintained their fixed resolve not to betray Hellas willingly.

XXXI. This answer exasperated the Thessalians, who immediately guided the barbarians into Phocis. From Trachinia they attacked Doris. A narrow strip of Dorian land extends downwards in this direction, about thirty stadia at the most in breadth, being between Malis and Phocis, known anciently as Dryopis. This is the mother country of the Dorians who dwell in the Peloponnesus. This territory of Doris the barbarians did not waste, because they willingly joined the Persians, to the annoyance of the Thessalians.

XXXII. On leaving Doris they invaded Phocis, but did not capture the Phocians, some of whom escaped to the mountains of Parnassus, while the majority retired to the territory of the Ozolian Locrians, to the city of Amphissa, which is built on the heights above the Crisaeon Plain. I must mention that the mountain of Parnassus could accommodate numbers of men, owing to its isolation and the existence of a town, Neon, at its foot, to which the name of Tithorea is given. Thither they retreated with their goods and chattels. The barbarians laid waste the whole of Phocis, at the instigation of the Thessalians. Their hand was heavy upon the land: they burnt the houses and temples and cut down the trees.

XXXIII. Issuing forth in this direction along the banks of the Cephissus, they plundered everything, and burnt to

ashes the cities of Drymus, Charadra, Erochius, Tethronion, Amphicaea, Neon, Pedieae, Triteae, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where stood the wealthy Temple of Apollo, with its glorious treasures and votive offerings. At that time, just as in the present day, there was an oracle there. This temple they despoiled and burnt. They even pursued some Phocians and captured them in the neighbourhood of the mountains, causing the death of some women by lying with them overmuch.

XXXIV. Passing by Parapotamii, the barbarians came to Panopeae. At this point their army was divided into two columns. The larger and more efficient division, which was under the personal command of Xerxes, invaded Boeotia, in particular the district of Orchomenos, on their march towards Athens. The Boeotians, however, joined the enemy to a man, and their cities were saved for them by the Macedonians, who had been sent by Alexander. The reason for their action was quite clear; they wished to show Xerxes that the Boeotians were in sympathy with him. This body of the barbarians thus took this route.

XXXV. The others with their guides made an assault on the temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. Their path through Phocis was accompanied by death and destruction. They burnt down Daulis, Panopeae and Æolis. They continued their march, and left the other division, being very anxious to despoil the temple of Delphi, and display its treasures to the great King. Xerxes, as I am credibly informed, had a more accurate knowledge of the treasures in the temple, than of his own personal possessions, owing to the fact that they were a frequent topic of conversation. The most renowned were naturally the votive offerings of Croesus, son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. This news reduced the Delphians to a feeling of utter helplessness. In this condition of panic they consulted the oracle about their treasures, debating whether they should bury them or convey them to another spot. The deity, however, bade them move nothing, observing that he was able to preserve his own possessions. When the Delphians heard this, they devoted their attention to saving themselves. They had their wives and children



conveyed to Achaea, while they themselves took refuge in the hills of Parnassus, and assembled in the cave of Corycion; some, on the other hand, escaped to Amphissa in Locris. Thus the city was left empty, save for sixty men and the prophet.

XXXVII. When the barbarians came near and could see the temple from a distance, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, noticed some arms lying outside the temple, which had certainly been taken from the sacred trophies—a recognised act of sacrilege. He shouted and called the attention of the Delphians to this portent. But the barbarians, on attacking the shrine of Athene Pronaea, were brought face to face with still more terrible portents. It is of course sufficiently wonderful for weapons of war to appear spontaneously before the temple. But the subsequent prodigies were far more remarkable, not excepting the whole realm of the supernatural. At the moment of attack on the temple of Athene Pronaea, thunderbolts fell from heaven upon the barbarians, and two great boulders were torn off from Parnassus, and crashed down upon them, crushing numbers of them. And from the temple of the Pronaea issued a famous war-cry.

XXXVIII. The simultaneous occurrence of these portents produced a panic. The Delphians, perceiving this, descended and slaughtered many of them. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. These barbarians, as I have discovered, said that there were other portents as well. They asserted that two gigantic warriors had followed them, dealing death among their ranks.

XXXIX. The Delphians said that these were two guardian heroes, Phylacus and Autonomous, whose shrines are situated near the temple, that of Phylacus on the very road that leads upward from the temple of Pronaea, that of Autonomous near the stream of Castalia, at the foot of the Hill of Hyampeia. The boulders that fell from Parnassus, were visible even in my day in the shrine of Athene Pronaea, into which they plunged after traversing the ranks of the barbarians. Such was the miraculous retreat of these men.

XL. The Hellene fleet, meanwhile, after leaving Arte-



misium, came to anchor at Salamis, owing to the particular request of the Athenians. The Athenian reasons were obvious. They wished to be enabled to convey their wives and children from Attica, and debate upon their plan of campaign. In their present plight they had to reconsider their tactics owing to their recent disappointment. They had expected to find the Peloponnesians opposing the barbarians in Boeotia with all their available forces. They did not find this to be so, but heard that the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus, on the ground that the preservation of the Peloponnese was of supreme importance, all other losses being immaterial. They therefore requested the admiral to anchor at Salamis.

XLI. While the others remained at Salamis, the Athenians anchored in their own bay, after which they announced through a herald to the Athenians on land the necessity of saving their children and households in the most practicable manner possible. Whereat the majority departed to Troezen, though some went to Ægina and others to Salamis. They hastened to effect this removal, animated by a desire to obey the oracle—in fact, this was not the least important reason. The Athenians say that a great serpent, the guardian of the Acropolis, lived in the temple. They further relate, as if the creature actually existed, that offerings were brought it on the day of every new moon—which offerings consisted of a honey-cake. This honey-cake, which had habitually disappeared, was at this time found untouched. When the priestess reported this fact, the Athenians were even more eager to leave the city, because they inferred that the goddess herself had abandoned the Acropolis. As soon, therefore, as they had effected a complete removal of property, they returned to their base.

XLII. When the fleet from Artemisium had anchored at Salamis, the remainder of the Hellene equipment joined them from Troezen. For they had been instructed beforehand to mobilise at Pogon, the harbour of Troezen. The assembled ships far exceeded in number those which had fought at Artemisium, being contributed by many more cities. The admiral-in-chief was still Eurybiades, the son of Eurycleides, a Spartan who had commanded at Arte-

misium, though he was not of royal descent. The ships supplied by the Athenians were more numerous and far more efficient.

XLIII. Now this was the muster of the ships. From the Peloponnese, the Lacedemonians sent eleven ships, while the Corinthians supplied the same contingent that fought at Artemisium. The men of Sicyon contributed fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the men of Troezen five, the Hermiones three. All these states, with the exception of the Hermiones, were of Dorian or Macedonian descent, and had been the last to come from Erineus, Pindus and Dryopis. But the Hermiones are Dryopians, because they were driven out by Heracles and the Malians from the country now called Doris.

XLIV. Such were the numbers which composed the Peloponnesian and Dorian contingent; from the outer continent the Athenians singlehanded provided a hundred and eighty vessels, a number which compares favourably with the other contingents. Now the Plataeans did not fight on the side of the Athenians at Salamis, and this is the reason. When the Hellenes, after their retreat from Artemisium, were off Chalcis, the Plataeans disembarked on the opposite shore—namely, that of Boeotia—and concerned themselves with the safe conveyance of their families. But in saving them, they were left behind. At the time when the Pelasgians occupied the country which is now known as Hellas, the Athenians were Pelasgians, called Cranians, but in the reign of Cecrops, they were known as Cecropides; when, however, Erectheus became king, they changed their name once more, being known as Athenians, and finally they were called Ionians by Ion, son of Xouthos, when he became general.

XLV. The Megarians sent the same vessels which had fought at Artemisium, and the Ampraciots generously came with seven, the Leucadians with three, the latter being of Doric strain from Corinth.

XLVI. Among the island states, the Æginetans sent thirty. They had other ships fully manned, but kept them to protect their own shores, but these thirty, which were the pick of their fleet, fought at Salamis. The Ægine-

tans are Dorians, from Epidaurus. The ancient name of their island was Œnone. After the men of Ægina, came the Chalcidians with the twenty ships that they had sent to Artemisium, then the Eretrians with seven; the latter are Ionians. After them, the men of Ceos supplied their former tale of ships. Now the Keans are Ionian by descent and came from Athens. The Naxians sent four. These vessels the citizens had originally sent to join the Persians, but their injunctions were disobeyed, and at the instigation of Democritus, a man of repute with the townsmen, and trierarch at that time, they ranged themselves on the side of Hellas. The Naxians are Ionian, and Athens is their mother city. The Styreans sent their former contingent, the Cythnians one and a penteconter, both the latter being Dryopians. The Seriphians, Siphnians and Malians were all represented, being the only island states which had not sent earth and water to the barbarian.

XLVII. These then were the forces that came from the district between Thesprotia and the River Acheron. For the Thesprotian land is coterminous with that of the Ampraciot and Leucadians, who came from the most distant states. The men of Crotona were the only contributors to the defence of threatened Hellas beyond this line, and they came in one ship, under the command of Phäyllus, a man who had won at the Pythian races three times. They are of Achæan origin.

XLVIII. The majority sent triremes, but the Seriphians, Malians and Siphnians could only afford penteconters. The Malians, who are descendants of Lacedaemon, sent two, the Siphnians and Seriphians, who are Ionians and emigrants from Athens, provided one each. The total number of the fleet, apart from penteconters, was three hundred and seventy-eight.

XLIX. When the admirals of these cities came to Salamis, they held a council of war, since Eurybiades had desired that everyone should give his opinion, and they debated on the most suitable locality for a naval engagement, reviewing the places of which they were still masters. The coast of Attica was now out of the question, but there remained other places. The majority of the speakers

suggested that they should sail towards the Isthmus and fight off the Peloponnese. They supported this view with the argument, that if defeated at Salamis, they would be besieged on the island when no help could reach them, whereas on the Isthmus they would be among their own people.

L. While the admirals from the Peloponnese were thus debating, there came an Athenian with the news that the barbarians had invaded Attica, with fire and sword. For the army which had traversed Boeotia with Xerxes after having set fire to the city of the Thespians, who had escaped to the Peloponnese, came to Athens eventually and plundered everywhere, treating Plataea in a similar fashion. They burnt these two cities at the suggestion of the Thebans, who affirmed that they had not joined the great King.

LI. From their crossing of the Hellespont to their ultimate arrival in Attica, during the archonship of Calliades, was a period of four months, one of which they had spent in crossing into Europe. They found the city deserted, and a few Athenians in the temple, stewards of the treasury and beggars, who had formed barricades of doors and logs to repel the attack of the barbarians, having been compelled by want of sustenance to remain in the Acropolis. And in this way they considered that they had discovered the meaning of the oracle which the Pythian priestess had given them, that a wooden rampart would be impregnable. They thought that their safety lay in planks of wood and not in ships.

LII. The Persians took up their position on the hill facing the Acropolis, called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and began the siege. They fastened tow to their arrows, and discharged them when lighted against the wooden barricade. The Athenians resisted, although their plight was piteous, and aggravated by the failure of their barricade. They refused all overtures of truce even from the descendants of Pisistratus, and continued to devise further means of resistance, and among other measures rolled great masses of rock down upon the barbarians when they approached the gates, to the great dismay of Xerxes, who was at a loss how to capture them,



LIII. But after a while, the barbarians discovered a way out of their difficulties. For Heaven had decreed that the continent territory of Attica should be subdued under Persian arms. Between the Acropolis in front, and the gates and regular road behind, there was a spot which had been left unguarded, as it was considered inaccessible to man. By this road certain of the Persians effected their ascent, passing by the shrine of Aglauros, the daughter of Cecrops, in spite of the precipitous nature of the path. When the Athenians saw that they had managed to ascend, some threw themselves down from the rampart and perished, while others fled to the shrine. These Persians first opened the gates of the shrine, and on doing this massacred the suppliants. And when they had made an end of plundering, and the slaughter was complete, they despoiled the shrine, and destroyed the Acropolis with fire.

LIV. Having thus completed the sack of Athens, Xerxes sent a mounted courier to Susa to announce to Artabanus the fortune that now shone upon him. On the second day after the departure of the herald, he summoned the Athenian fugitives who had taken refuge with him, and bade them go up to the Acropolis and sacrifice according to their own rites. His motive for this was uncertain: perhaps he had seen a serpent in a dream and had been ordered to do so, or possibly some religious scruple disturbed his peace of mind after the destruction of the shrine by fire. The refugees obeyed him.

LV. I will explain why I related this episode. There is on the Acropolis the shrine of the so-called earth-born Erectheus, in which is an olive-tree and a well of salt water. For the ancient story runs that Poseidon and Athene disputed over the possession of Attica and produced them as evidence. Now this olive was burnt at the burning of the shrine. But on the second day after the disaster, the Athenians who had gone up to sacrifice at the King's command, noticed that a shoot had grown out from the stump to the length of a cubit. They naturally related this fact.

LVI. The Hellenes were reduced to a state of panic directly the news of the sack of Athens was announced at



Salamis. Some of the admirals did not wish to await choice of a plan of action, but hurried to their ships and hoisted sail, with a view to instant departure. The remainder decided to fight in the neighbourhood of the Isthmus. Night came on, and the council broke up, each going to their several ships.

LVII. Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, met Themistocles on his return to his ship, and asked him what he proposed to do. Themistocles told him that it was decided to sail out towards the Isthmus and fight off the Peloponnese. "If," he replied, "you remove your ships from Salamis, you will practically have no country for which to fight. Each squadron will fight for its own city, and neither Eurybiades nor anyone else will prevent them from causing divisions in the fleet. Thus their folly will win Hellas. If there is any means of doing it, go and endeavour to cancel the decision of the council and persuade Eurybiades to change his mind and stay."

LVIII. This suggestion pleased Themistocles very much, but he made no answer, and went straight to Eurybiades' ship. On arriving, he said that he had an important communication to make. Eurybiades asked him to come on board and tell it, if he wished. Themistocles then came, and sitting beside him, narrated the arguments with which Mnesiphilus had provided him, as if they were his own. He made many other suggestions and eventually persuaded Eurybiades to leave his ship, and call another meeting of the council.

LIX. As soon as the council met, even before Eurybiades had explained the reason for assembling, Themistocles was very urgent in stating his requests. While he continued speaking, the Corinthian general, Adeimantus, son of Ocytus, addressed him: "Themistocles," said he, "those who start too early in the races, are struck by the wands of the keepers of the course." He replied, by way of excuse: "But those who start too late, win no prize."

LX. Thus he returned a soft answer to the Corinthian. But to Eurybiades he made no mention of what he had said before, that if they left Salamis the allies would disperse. For he did not think it fitting to bring a formal accusation

in the presence of the allies. He then began a speech on different lines :

“The safety of Hellas,” said he, “at present rests in your hands, if you are willing to remain here and fight, disregarding the advice of those who wish to remove the ships to the Isthmus. Consider the advantages of either alternative. By fighting off the Isthmus, you will be on the open sea, a fact which cannot clearly conduce to our advantage seeing that their ships are both heavier and more numerous. In this way too, even if we fight successfully, we shall lose Salamis, Megara and Ægina. Their land army will not be far behind their fleet, and you will thus introduce them yourselves into the Peloponnese, and endanger the whole of Hellas. Look now at the advantages of the course which I propose. In the first place, the sphere of action will be circumscribed, and, according to the theory of probabilities, our few ships will have a complete advantage over their vast numbers. The open sea would suit them, but a narrow strait holds the key to our success. Nor shall we lose Salamis, whither you have conveyed your wives and children. In this way, too, you will attain the object which you have so much at heart. You can fight for the Peloponnese as well by Salamis as off the Isthmus, and this without suffering the barbarians to enter the Peloponnese. If my hopes are realised and success crowns our efforts, you will have no barbarian at your gates, for they will not have crossed beyond Attica, being probably engaged in promiscuous flight : we shall still possess Megara, Ægina, and Salamis, which is to be the scene of victory according to the oracle. In mortal affairs, we can say as a general rule, that the deity is on the side of the wisest counsellors, but in cases of abject folly, Providence will not interfere.

LXI. At the end of this speech, the Corinthian Adeimantus again attacked Themistocles. “A man,” said he, “who has no city, should be silent. Nor could Eurybiades allow a man to vote who suffered under this disability. When Themistocles could show what city he represented then he might put forward suggestions with the rest.” He made this taunt, because Athens was actually in the hands of the foe. Thereupon Themistocles said many evil things

to him and to the barbarians, explaining that so long as Athens possessed two hundred ships, the Athenian Empire would be greater than any land or city which they possessed, for none of the Hellenes could repel their attack.

LXII. After these remarks, he turned his attention to Eurybiades, and spoke more earnestly: "If you remain and act like a brave man, all will be well. If you retreat, you will take with you the salvation of Hellas. The whole fate of the war depends upon our fleet. Be persuaded by me. If you refuse, we shall take our goods and households and convey them to Siris in Italy, which has belonged to us of old, a place pointed out as destined for us by oracular sayings. When you have lost our support, you will remember my words."

LXIII. At these threats of Themistocles, Eurybiades thought better of the matter. I think that the chief reason for this was his fear that the Athenians would desert, if they sailed on to the Isthmus. If the Athenians went, the rest were nugatory for fighting purposes. Consequently he decided to remain and fight to the bitter end.

LXIV. And so, after this battle of words in Salamis, they got ready for a naval engagement as soon as Eurybiades gave his decision. The day broke, and at sunrise there occurred an earthquake which was felt at sea as well as on land. They thought it a good thing to offer prayers to the deities, and summon the assistance of the Æacidae. They acted upon this idea. After prayer to all the deities, they summoned Ajax and Telamon from Salamis itself, but sent a ship to Ægina to convey Æacus and the other Æacids.

LXV. The story goes that Dicaeos the son of Theocydes, an Athenian, who, after taking refuge with the Persians, had acquired some reputation among them at this time, was walking at this hour with Demaratus, the Lacedemonian, in the Thriasian plain. (Attica was overrun by the army of Xerxes, and had been deserted by the Athenians.) He observed, so it is said, a cloud of dust approaching from the direction of Eleusis, which seemed to come from some thirty thousand men. The two wondered who they might be, and heard forthwith a cry, and that cry seemed to be the mystic song of Æacchus. Demaratus, however, was not an initiate

of the Eleusinian mysteries, and asked Dicaeos the meaning of this cry. "Demaratus," he replied, "this assuredly portends mischief to the royal arms. It is more than clear, that the voice is the voice of some deity coming from Eleusis to avenge Athens and her allies, since Attica is at present deserted. If he attack the Peloponnese, danger awaits the King and his land army; if he fall on the ships at Salamis, it seems probable that he will lose his fleet. This feast is celebrated by the Athenians every year, to Demeter and Persephone. Any Athenian or ally of theirs can be initiated, if he wishes, and the song which they sing at this feast, is the song of Iacchus which you hear now. Demaratus answered: "Say nothing of this to anyone. If this story comes to the King's ears, you will lose your head, and neither I, nor anyone else, will be able to save you. Preserve silence. The fate of this army is in the hands of the gods." While he was saying this, there issued forth from the dust and singing a cloud which was whirled on high towards Salamis to the Hellene camp. Thus they learnt of the fate in store for the fleet of Xerxes. This is the story of Dicaeos, appealing to Demaratus and others for confirmation thereof.

LXVI. The leaders of Xerxes' fleet, after seeing from Trachis the disaster of the Spartans, and recrossing back to Histiaea, waited three days, and then sailed along the Euripus, reaching Phaleron in three days. I am inclined to think that the numbers with which they attacked Athens—that is to say, including land and sea forces—were no way inferior to their numbers when they fought at Sepias and Thermopylae. For against the losses which they incurred through storms, at Thermopylae, and at Artemisium, I set off the tale of these who had not then joined the King, I mean the Malians, Dorians, Locrians and Boeotians, who with the exception of the Plataeans and Thespians, had deserted to a man; then, too, there were contingents from Karystos, Andros and Tenos, and from all the other islands save only these five whose names I have mentioned previously. The farther south the Persian marched, the greater the number of states who increased his following.

LXVII. When they all reached Athens, with the ex-



ception of the Parians, who had stayed behind at Cythnos in order to be more certain of the probable outcome of the war, and the others had reached Phaleron, Xerxes himself went down to the fleet, to consult with them and listen to their views. He took his seat first, and the tyrants of the various states and the taxiarchs of the fleet, were present at his bidding. These seated themselves in order of merit, as recognised by the King, first the King of Sidon, then the King of Tyre, then the others. When they were orderly and settled, Xerxes sent Mardonius to ask each of them personally their opinions.

LXVIII. When he had made an end of asking, having started with the King of Sidon, the others all wished to precipitate a naval engagement, but Artemisia spoke to this effect :

“ Say to the King,” she said, “ Mardonius, on my behalf that this is the opinion of one whose reputation for bravery in Euboea was not of the very worst. My lord, it is my duty to say what course I think the best for your present condition. Then I say, mistrust your ships, and do not fight at sea. Their seamen are as superior on sea to your warriors, as men are to women. Why should you risk all on a naval engagement ? Are you not in possession of Athens, the object of your mission, and the rest of Hellas into the bargain ? There are no obstacles in your path. Those who withstood you, have fared even as they deserved. But the fate of the enemy I will tell you. If you refuse to fight, and keep your ships on the spot, hugging the shore, or proceeding forward towards the Peloponnese, you will easily reach the end which you had proposed to yourself on marching. The Hellenes cannot withstand you for any length of time, and by this means you will scatter them so that they return each to his own city. I am informed that they have neither a sufficient commissariat on this island, nor if you descend upon the Peloponnese with your land army, is it likely that those of them who belong to that country will remain where they are, and take the trouble to fight a sea battle for the sake of the Athenians. But if you are impetuous to fight, I am afraid that the fleet will be defeated, and involve in its ruin the land army. Reflect



too, O King, that slaves invariably treat good masters badly, but evil masters well. You, O King, who are the most excellent of mortals, will find your slaves fail you, who are courteously termed allies, whether they be Egyptians, Cyprians or Cilicians, or Pamphylians, whose value is infinitesimal."

LXIX. When she had said this to Mardonius, the allies who were friendly to Artemisia, were very sorry for her, believing that she would be evilly entreated of the King for having advised him not to fight, but the others who were hostile and envious of her, in that she was the most honoured of all the allies, rejoiced at her suggestion and looked upon her disgrace as inevitable. But when the opinions were related to Xerxes, he was delighted with the suggestion of Artemisia, and although he had before this considered her of great merit, he esteemed her then even more highly. Nevertheless, he ordered them to abide by the decision of the majority, supposing that their spiritless display at Euboea was due to his own absence, and determining now to be himself personally a spectator of the battle.

LXX. The order was given to sail out, and they put out to Salamis, ranging themselves in line of battle leisurely. The light was no longer sufficient for them to fight by day, for night had come on. So they made preparations for the next day. Meanwhile a panic possessed the Hellenes, and a feeling of helplessness, not the least noticeable in the Lacedemonian contingent. They were particularly afraid lest, after abiding at Salamis to fight for the Athenian empire, they should be defeated and besieged in the island, without possibility of retreat, and thus forced to leave their own land unprotected.

LXXI. The barbarians' land army pushed on under cover of night into the Peloponnese. Yet everything had been done to prevent the barbarians attacking on land. As soon as the Peloponnesians had heard the fate of Leonidas and his comrades at Thermopylae, they left their cities and mobilised at the Isthmus, under the command of Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, brother of Leonidas. Here they blocked with earthworks the road to Sciron, and, as seemed good to them, they began to build afterwards a

wall across the Isthmus. Since they were several thousand strong, and every man worked, the work progressed rapidly. They fetched stones, bricks, logs, and baskets of sand. The workers rested no whit, either by day or night.

LXXII. The names of the Hellenes who assisted in the defence of the Isthmus with all their forces are as follows :—The Lacedemonians, all the Arcadians, Eleans, Corinthians, men of Sicyon, Epidaurians, men of Troezen, and lastly the Hermiones. These were all who assisted and feared for the safety of Hellas—the other Peloponnesians cared for none of these things. The Olympian and Carneian feasts had long been concluded.

LXXIII. The inhabitants of the Peloponnese belong to seven different nations. Two of these, the Arcadians and Cynurians inhabited the same spots of old, as they do now, and are autochthonous—that is, natives of the soil. One of them, the Achaeans, did not quit the Peloponnese, but leaving their own district, dwelt in another. The remaining four are immigrant races, Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians and Lemnians. The cities of the Dorians are famous as well as numerous ; the Ætolians possess only one of renown—namely, Elis—the Dryopians, Hermione and Asine, which is situate in Cardamylia of Laconia. To the Lemnians belong all the towns of Paroreatae.<sup>2</sup> The Cynurians, although autochthonous, seem to be the only inhabitants who are at the same time Ionians. But they have been thoroughly doricised by Argive government and lapse of time, being in the position of Orneatae and Perioeci. These cities of the seven nations, with the exception of these I have mentioned, held aloof from the war : and, if I can freely speak my opinion, they virtually medised.

LXXIV. The Peloponnesians at the Isthmus were occupied with the active labour I have described, because they fancied their very existence to be at stake, and trusted little in the possibility of a glorious naval success. But the others at Salamis when they learnt this fact, were dismayed, fearing not so much for their own personal safety as for the Peloponnese. Sailor said to sailor, under his breath, that the folly of Eurybiades was incomprehensible ;

<sup>2</sup> This means “ a dweller on the side of a mountain.”

finally this discontent took open shape. A meeting was held, and many speakers urged the expediency of sailing to the Peloponnese, to save it from danger, the absurdity of fighting in front of a conquered country, and the resolution of the Athenians, Megarians and Æginetans to remain and defend it.

LXXV. Thereupon Themistocles, seeing that the Peloponnesians had outvoted him, left the council secretly, and sent a man in a small boat to the Persian camp, with orders what to say. This man was called Sicinnus, and belonged to Themistocles' household, being the tutor of his children. Themistocles had him made a citizen of Thespiæ after this event, when the Thespians were enrolling new citizens, and gave him much fine gold. He came and addressed the barbarian leaders. "The Athenian admiral," said he, "has sent me, without the knowledge of the other Hellenes—I may say that he is favourably disposed to the King, and prefers to see Persia succeed rather than Hellas—to tell you that the Hellenes are in a state of panic and meditate flight. Now is the time for a master stroke on your part, if you do not wish to see them escape. There is no unanimity among their leaders, nor are they likely to offer much resistance, and when you attack them, you will easily distinguish those who are for you, and those who are against you."

LXXVI. After delivering his message, he returned without let or hindrance. The barbarians, who had given credence to his words, disembarked a large number of Persians on to the island of Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland, and at midnight began their manœuvres. Their right or western wing began an out-flanking movement in the direction of Salamis, while the contingents stationed near Ceos and Cynosura moved forward, and occupied the strait as far as Munychia with these vessels. The object of this manœuvre was to cut off all possible chance of escape from the Hellenes, and gain redress for the evils which they had suffered at Artemisium, from their foes now taken at a disadvantage. Their reason for disembarking troops on to the island called Psyttaleia, was the thought that when the sea-fight began, the men and wrecks would be washed ashore chiefly at this spot,

which would enable them to save their friends and destroy their enemies. For the island lay right in the line of any possible fighting. All this was effected in silence, in order to deceive the enemy. They slept no wink of sleep that night, but held themselves in readiness.

LXXVII. I will not say that oracles are not true, for I have no desire to attempt the refutation of those which speak without obscurity, particularly when I consider the coincidence I am about to relate.

“ When with a bridge of ships, they shall join seagirt Cynosura  
Fast to the holy shores of Artemis, whose sword is golden :  
When in the fury of hope they have sacked the splendour of  
Athens,  
Then shall the judgment of Heav’n strike down this scion of  
Hubris,  
Pride, with his deeds of dread, an irresistible foeman.  
Sword shall clash upon sword, and incarnadined flow the sea  
waves,  
E’en at the war-god’s voice : but Freedom shall dawn for the  
Hellenes,  
Heralded by Kronos’ son, and victory’s glorious goddess.”

I have not the courage to say aught in refutation of this oracle of Bacis, which speaks with such lucidity, nor can I admit of such disparagement from others.

LXXVIII. Meanwhile the leaders at Salamis were still debating hotly. They were unaware of the encircling manœuvre effected by the barbarians, but imagined that they still preserved their order of the previous day.

LXXIX. While the council was thus engaged, there crossed over from Ægina, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, who had, however, been ostracised by popular vote, though in my opinion the most just and righteous man in Athens. He came to the council and called Themistocles out. Now Themistocles was not only no friend of his, but openly hostile to him. However, the gravity of their case caused him to ignore private grievances, and he called to Themistocles telling him he had a communication to make. For he had heard that the Peloponnesian generals were somewhat anxious to retire to the Isthmus. When Themistocles had come out to him, he spoke to the following effect :—



“Postpone your bickerings until a later date, and consider at present the welfare of your country. I tell you that it is perfectly immaterial how much or how little you discuss with Peloponnesians the possibility of retreat. I myself, with my own eyes, have seen the end of the hopes of Eurybiades and the Corinthians, even if they do really purpose to escape. The enemy are surrounding us. Go in, and tell them this.”

LXXX. “Your advice,” answered Themistocles, “is excellent and your news inspiring. You have actually seen the realisation of my hopes. As a matter of fact, I suggested this move to the Persians. It was clear that if the Hellenes would not remain and fight willingly, they had to do so unwillingly. Since your news is so good, tell it yourself. If I tell them, they will consider it to be fiction, and will refuse to believe that the barbarians have really done this. Go you, and tell them the state of affairs. If they believe your story, well and good; if they do not, it will be immaterial to us. They cannot escape now, if, as you say, we are surrounded on all sides.”

LXXXI. Aristides came forward and told his story, explaining that he had only escaped from Ægina with great difficulty and slipped by the ships anchored there. The whole armament was surrounded by the Persian fleet. He advised them to clear the decks for action. Aristides retired after this, and the discussion waxed as furious as ever. The majority of them were not convinced.

LXXXII. While they were in this state of unbelief, a Tenian trireme arrived, which had deserted from the enemy, commanded by a Panaetian, the son of Sosimenes, and the news was thus confirmed. For this reason, the Tenians wrote an inscription on the tripod at Delphi, numbering themselves among those who assisted to destroy the barbarian. With this ship that deserted at Salamis, and the Lemnian vessel which had done the same at Artemisium, the Hellene fleet reached a total of three hundred and eighty. For before this, there were two wanting to complete this number.

LXXXIII. The Hellenes at length believed the story of the Tenians, and made preparations for battle. Dawn



broke, and the generals summoned a meeting of the marines, and Themistocles made the best speech of all, his antithetic expressions being notable. He advised them, to use his own words, in all that the nature and constitution of man allowed, to choose the nobler course, and terminated his speech with the order to embark. Then they embarked, and the trireme, which had been sent to fetch the *Æacidae*, returned at this moment. Finally the Hellenes put out to sea with all their vessels.

LXXXIV. While they were getting under weigh, the barbarians fell upon them. The other Hellenes began to back water and nearly ran aground. But Ameinias, of the Pallenian deme, an Athenian, managed to get his ship clear off shore, and began the attack. While the vessel was thus engaged, and unable to get loose, the others came to his assistance and joined in the conflict. This was the beginning of the engagement according to the Athenians, but the men of *Ægina* assert that it was begun by the vessel which had gone to *Ægina* to fetch the *Æacidae*. There is also a story of the apparition of a woman, who encouraged them, after first giving utterance to a taunt which was audible throughout the Hellene fleet : “ My good people, how much further are you going to back water ? ”

LXXXV. The Phoenicians were drawn up against the Athenians—they occupied the wing towards Eleusis and the west—against the Lacedemonians were the Ionians—the east wing towards the Peiræus. A few of them fought without vigour, as Themistocles had suggested, but the majority opposed strenuously. I could give the names of several trierarchs who captured Hellene ships, but I shall content myself with mentioning only Theomestor, the son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, the son of Histiaeus, both Samians. I mention them only because owing to this battle Theomestor became tyrant of Samos on the appointment of the Persians, and the name of Phylacus was recorded as “ a benefactor to the King ” and much territory was given him as well. The Persian word for “ benefactor of the King ” is “ Orosangæ.”

LXXXVI. Such was their good fortune ; but the majority

of the ships in Salamis were annihilated, some being defeated by the Athenians, others by the Æginetans. The Hellenes preserved their ordered array throughout the fight, but the barbarians fought promiscuously, with no definite plan of action, and the result was only natural. Still they fought on this day far better than they had done by Euboea, since the near presence of Xerxes inspired enthusiasm, and each man believed himself to be the personal object of the King's scrutiny.

LXXXVII. I cannot give a detailed account of the other combatants on the Hellene or Persian side, but the fate of Artemisia must be told, which raised her even more in the King's favour. While consternation obtained in the Persian fleet, Artemisia was being pursued by an Attic vessel. She had no means of escape, and found herself particularly impeded by vessels of her own side, though she lay nearest to the enemy. She devised this plan and carried it through successfully. Being chased by the Attic ship, she crashed into a ship belonging to the Calyndians, one of the Persian contingent, which was commanded personally by Damasthymus, their King. I cannot say, if they became antagonistic while still in the vicinity of the Hellespont, nor can I state whether she did it out of malice aforethought, or if it was pure chance that the Calyndian ship happened to be in her way. The vessel sank owing to her attack, and availing herself of this opportunity, she doubled her own good fortune. For the commander of the Attic vessel, when he saw her attack a barbarian ship, imagined that Artemisia's vessel was either Hellene, or at the least about to desert from the barbarians, and attack them, with the result that he directed his attention elsewhere.

LXXXVIII. Thus she escaped destruction, and though her action was questionable, Xerxes thought all the more of her. The story goes that the King was watching and was told whose ship it was that had attacked. "Sire," said one of his attendants, "do you see that Artemisia is fighting nobly and sunk an enemy's ship?" The King inquired if Artemisia had really done this, and they replied that her ensign was perfectly distinguishable. They did not know that her victim was a Persian ally. She had

carried through her manœuvre successfully, and not one of the Calyndian crew was saved to become her accuser. Then said Xerxes: "My men are become women, my women men." At least, Xerxes is reported to have said this.

LXXXIX. In this struggle died the admiral Ariabignes, the son of Darius, Xerxes' brother, and many other famous Medes and Persians, and allies, and even a few of the Hellenes. For those who knew how to swim, whose ships were sunk, made good their escape by swimming to Salamis. if they did not perish in the actual fighting. The majority of the barbarians were drowned, since they could not swim. After the first ships had begun to give way, the majority were annihilated. As a consequence, the ships stationed behind them endeavoured to get through and perform some feat for the King, and succeeded in falling foul of their own ships which were in full flight.

XC. There was another incident which occurred during the confusion. Some of the Phoenicians, whose ships had been sunk, came and accused the Ionians before the King of having caused their downfall and being traitors. In the end the Ionian admirals were exonerated and the Phoenicians fell into the pit they had digged. While they were making these accusations, a Samothracian attacked an Attic ship. The Attic ship was waterlogged, but an Æginetan attacked the Samothracian and sank it. But the Samothracians, whose marines were slingers, shot from the sinking ship, defeated them, boarded and took it. This sufficed to save the Ionians. When Xerxes saw this splendid feat of arms, he turned to the Phoenicians, and censured them severely, ordering their heads to be struck off, to prevent their slandering brave men after playing the coward themselves successfully. Whenever Xerxes saw some noble deed done on his side in the battle, as he was sitting on the mountain opposite Salamis, called Ægaleos, he inquired the name of its author, and the scribes wrote down the admiral's name and city, with that of his father. The presence of Ariaramnes, a Persian, who was friendly to the Ionians, contributed still more to the discomfiture of the Phoenicians.

XCI. Some turned their attention to the execution of

the Phoenicians ; the rest of the barbarians who were in flight, and sailing towards Phaleron, found their road stopped by the Æginetans. This was the scene of many memorable deeds. In the confusion the Athenians made short work of resistance among the fugitives, while the Æginetans destroyed all those that escaped them. For, as soon as they had got past the Athenians, they found themselves confronted by the Æginetans.

XCII. Then two ships came alongside one another, the flagship of Themistocles, pursuing one of the enemy, and that of Polycrites, the son of Crias, an Æginetan, which had attacked a Sidonian vessel ; this same vessel had captured an Æginetan ship, guarding Sciathus, on which sailed Pytheas, the son of Ischenous, whom the Persians, after having almost cut him to pieces owing to his stubborn resistance, had kept on their vessel because of their admiration for him. It was with this man still on board that the Sidonian vessel was captured, with the result that he was brought safely to Ægina. When Polycrites saw the Attic vessel, he recognised the ensign of the flagship, and giped against the supposed desertion of the Æginetans, mocking aloud at Themistocles. So Polycrites attacked, still gibing at Themistocles, but the barbarians who escaped arrived at Phaleron and took refuge under cover of the land force.

XCIII. In this battle, the Æginetans secured the reputation for being the bravest, the Athenians came second. Individually Polycrites, the Æginetan, and Eumenes the Anagyrasian, and Ameinias of Palleneus deme, were the most distinguished, the latter being the pursuer of Artemisia. Had he known that it was the vessel of Artemisia, he would never have stopped, before he had taken her or was himself taken. These were the orders that had been issued with reference to Artemisia, and ten thousand drachmae were offered to anyone who would take her alive. They were very indignant that a woman should attack Athens. She, as I mentioned above, escaped, and the remnant that survived abode at Phaleron.

XCIV. The Athenians said that Adeimantus, the Corinthian admiral, showed signs of panic at the beginning

of the battle, and hoisting his sails, started to retreat, and they add that the Corinthians on seeing the cowardice of their admiral, followed his example. But when the refugees reached the shrine of Athene Sciras in Salamis, a fast-sailing vessel came up by the guidance of providence, though no one seemed to have sent it, nor were the Corinthians, to whom it came, acquainted at all with the fate of those who had joined in the engagement. They concluded that this was a divine intervention. When the yacht came up, the crew of the vessel spoke as follows:—"Adeimantus, this flight which you have instigated, ought to have destroyed Hellas. Yet they are in the midst of victory, defeating their foes even as they hoped to defeat them." Adeimantus discredited this story, whereupon they said that Adeimantus could keep them as hostages and put them to death, if the Hellenes were not at that time conquering. Thus, when all was over, he turned his ship and rejoined the fleet. Such is the Athenian version, but the Corinthians do not admit its truth but consider that they fought among the first in this sea-fight. And the rest of Hellas supports this contention.

XCV. Now Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, whom I mentioned before in reference to his title of "Just," acted in this way during the struggle at Salamis. He took with him several hoplites, who had been stationed on the shore of Salamis (they were Athenians), and crossing with them to Psyttaleia, he massacred all the Persians in this island.

XCVI. At the termination of the fight, the Hellenes dragged on shore at Salamis all the wrecks they could find, though they held themselves in readiness for a second battle, expecting that the King would use the ships that remained. But a wind<sup>3</sup> came up and drove many of the disabled vessels away from Attica on to the Colian beach. Thus was the oracle spoken by Bacis and Musaeus fulfilled, in all that they had predicted about this fight. The fate of the wrecks had also been prophesied many years before in the oracle revealed by Lysistratus the Athenian, himself a seer. This verse had not been understood:—

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that the weather should have so signally helped both Athens and England in their hour of greatest need,



“ Fires shall be lighted with oars by the Colian women for roasting.”

But this was destined to take place after the King had marched away.

XCVII. Xerxes, on learning about the disaster, was afraid lest some of the Ionians should suggest to the Hellenes, or that the Hellenes themselves should design to sail to the Hellespont and break down the bridge. This would necessitate utter destruction for his forces in the Euripus, and he therefore meditated on a retreat. Still, since he wished to conceal his plans both from the Hellenes and his own troops, he continued his work of building a causeway across to Salamis, and fastened together several Phoenician merchantmen, to act as a raft, and at the same time as a means of defence. Thus he caused all preparations to be made as if he intended fighting a second time. The admirals who noticed these warlike works, naturally supposed that he had decided to engage once more. But he did not deceive Mardonius, who understood his character very well. Despite this, Xerxes sent a courier to the Persians, to acquaint them of his defeat.

XCVIII. The speed of these couriers was little less than miraculous : to such a pitch of excellence had the Persians brought this department. It is said that there were as many horses and men posted at intervals as there were days in the whole journey. Neither rain, snow, fire, nor darkness prevented him accomplishing the distance allotted to him in the least possible time. The first came and gave his orders to the second, the second to the third. Thus the news went from one to the other, as is the case in the torch races, which the Hellenes run in honour of Hephaestus. The Persian name for these relays of posts is “ Angarion.”

XCIX. The first messenger reached Susa with the news that Xerxes had sacked Athens. The Persians left at home were elated at the news, and strewed all the road with myrtle branches, burned incense, and were engaged in universal sacrifices and feastings. Then came the second messenger, and they rent their garments, and raised unceasing lamentations, laying the blame upon Mardonius.

The Persians were not so grieved about the fate of the ships, as apprehensive for the safety of Xerxes.

C. Such were the happenings among the Persians all the time until the arrival of Xerxes put an end to their mourning. Mardonius, meanwhile, seeing that Xerxes was very much distressed by the defeat, suspected that he intended to retreat from Athens. He reflected, however, that he himself was likely to suffer for having persuaded the King to march on Hellas. It would be much better, he thought, to stake his all on the subjugation of Hellas, or perish in the attempt, after playing for so high a chance. He was inclined to attempt the subjugation of Hellas. With this object in view, he addressed the King : " Sire, be not grieved neither distressed at past misfortunes. Our cavalry and infantry will fight the decisive battle, not our fleet. None of the seeming victorious combatants will dare to leave their ships and meet you face to face on land, nor indeed, is there any land contingent of theirs that would attempt it. Those who did make this experiment, have atoned for their temerity. If it seem good to you, let us forthwith attack the Peloponnese ; if you say so, good also. Above all, be of good cheer. The Hellenes cannot escape us : they will be compelled to render an account for their past and present behaviour to your servants. But, even if you have determined to retire with your army, I have a proposal to meet the case. Do not, sire, make the Persians a laughing-stock among the Hellenes. The Persians are not responsible for this mishap. It is impossible to say who was to blame, whether they were Phoenicians, Egyptians, Cyprians or Cilicians. The disaster has no connection with Persia. Since the Persians are free from censure, listen to me. If you have determined not to stay, do you follow your own inclinations, and take with you the greater part of the army. It shall then be my mission to bring Hellas to your feet, if you leave me but three hundred thousand men."

CI. Xerxes showed considerable pleasure at this speech, considering the defeat he had sustained, and told Mardonius that he would debate upon these alternatives and then give an answer. While he was debating with his chosen staff, the idea occurred to him to send for Artemisia,

who, on the former occasion, had been the only one to give reasonable advice. When Artemisia arrived, Xerxes caused the other councillors and generals to retire, and spoke to her as follows :—"Mardonius," said he, "bids me stay and attack the Peloponnese, asseverating that the Persians and the land army are in no way to blame. They would like to be put to the test. He therefore suggests that I should do this, or else he is prepared to bring Hellas to my feet if I leave him three hundred thousand men, and retreat myself with the rest of our forces as suits my pleasure. Do you therefore tell me, which course will conduce more probably to success, for your advice before the sea-fight was excellent, when you voted against an engagement."

CII. "Sire," she said, in answer to his request, "it is very difficult to give the best advice. Still, under present conditions, I think it is better for you yourself to retire with the army, leaving Mardonius behind, if he be willing and ready to do as he suggests. If he conquers as he desires, and fulfils the hopes he has in mind, the glory, sire, is yours, for it will be the work of your servants; if, on the other hand, Mardonius be disappointed of his hopes, the disaster cannot be great if you survive and have your empire still intact. Your presence and the safety of your empire will be sufficient to keep the Hellenes in a perpetually precarious condition. If Mardonius is killed, it is of no matter. If the Hellenes destroy a servant of yours, it is no stain upon your honour, for you have attained the goal of your mission, the destruction of Athens, and are naturally returning."

CIII. Xerxes was very pleased with this advice. She said exactly what he wanted her to say. I do not think he would have remained, even if all men and all women had been unanimous on that point, so great was his anxiety. He complimented Artemisia and sent her to conduct his children to Ephesus, for some of his bastard children were with him.

CIV. He sent Hermotimus as escort for his children. This man was a Pedasian, and the most influential of his eunuchs. The Pedasians live beyond Halicarnassus. There is supposed to be a curious custom among them. Whenever some misfortune seems imminent for the dwellers

in the vicinity of this city, the priestess of Athene grows a large beard. This has already happened twice.

CV. Hermotimus, then, was a Pedasian, who took the most terrible vengeance for wrongs of any man of whom I have ever heard. Panionius, a Chian, purchased him as a prisoner of war; this Chian gained his livelihood in a most disreputable manner. Whenever he acquired youths of goodly appearance, he castrated them, and took them to Sardis or Ephesus where he sold them for much fine gold. The barbarians value eunuchs very highly, placing more confidence in them, than in persons who have not suffered this mutilation. Panionius castrated many others, and among them Hermotimus: this was his profession. Fortune smiled upon Hermotimus. He left Sardis and went to the King's palace, as one of many gifts, and in course of time became the most influential of all the royal eunuchs.

CVI. When the King started his mighty force for the subjugation of Athens, Hermotimus was at Sardis. Thence he went on some business or other into the Mysian land, where the Chians live, called Atarneus, and found Panionius there. He recognised him, and conversed with him very pleasantly, relating to Panionius the good fortune that had come to him through his instrumentality. Then he promised to requite him for all the good he had done, if he would come to live with him, bringing his slaves, wife and children. This Panionius did and was much gratified. Having secured the whole family, Hermotimus made him a speech: "Debased wretch," said he, "whose livelihood is obtained by the most degraded of all professions, what injury had I or any of mine done to you or your relations, that you should have made me the shadow of a man? Did you expect to conceal your evil designs from the wrath of Heaven? The justice of Heaven has delivered you into my hands, after your career of iniquity. You cannot complain of the justice of my vengeance." After these taunts, the children were brought in, and Panionius was compelled to castrate his own children with his own hands. When this was done, under the same compulsion he was castrated by his children. Such was the vengeance of Hermotimus.

CVII. After Xerxes had entrusted his children to Arte-



misia for safe conduct to Ephesus, he called Mardonius and told him to take the men he wanted, and to endeavour to make his practice confirm his professions. So the day passed. At nightfall, on the command of the King, the admirals put out from Phaleron to sail to the Hellespont, with all the speed they could, in order to guard the rafts for the King's passage. When the barbarians came near to Zoster, they saw the headlands of the mainland, and mistaking them for vessels, fled to some distance. But on learning subsequently of their error, they reassembled and continued their course.

CVIII. When day broke the Hellenes observed that the land army had not altered its position, and hoped that the fleet was still near Phaleron. They expected a battle and held themselves in readiness. When they heard that the ships were gone, they decided to pursue them. But on arriving at Andros, they had not sighted the Persian fleet. They therefore held a council of war. Themistocles urged them to sail past the islands, continuing their pursuit until they reached the Hellespont, where they could destroy the bridge. Eurybiades naturally opposed him, conceiving that the destruction of this bridge would entail the greatest misfortune for Hellas. "If," said he, "the Persians are cut off and forced to remain in Europe, they will not remain inactive. If they were to practise such a policy, all chance of success would be denied them, as well as the possibility of a homeward journey, and starvation thin their ranks. But, if they energetically attack, practically all the cities and nations of Europe will be subdued before them, whether they are conquered subsequently or have previously signified their submission. Their commissariat will be annually replenished by our crops. I consider that since they have been worsted at sea and will not remain in Europe, they should be allowed to get back to their own land. Once there they should fight for its continued possession." The other Peloponnesians concurred with this opinion.

CIX. When Themistocles realised the impossibility of persuading the Hellenes to sail to the Hellespont, he changed his plan and spoke as follows. I may say that the Athenians were particularly exasperated at the



escape of the barbarians, and were debating the advisability of sailing to the Hellespont even if the others refused. "I myself," said he, "have personally observed many cases, and heard of many more, where the conquered have been brought to bay, and by renewed fighting have retrieved the fortune of the day. Let us not therefore pursue the fugitives. Fortune has favoured Hellas and ourselves sufficiently, in that we have repelled this barbarian horde. The glory is not ours : the victory belongs to the gods and heroes, who were jealous and would not brook the sacrilegious impiety of a man who hoped to unite Europe<sup>4</sup> and Asia under one sceptre. They have avenged themselves for the profaning of their temples, and the attempts to cast down their shrines : they have requited the man who dared to smite the sea with rods and bind it with fetters. Now is the time for us to remain in Hellas and look after our domestic affairs. Let each man build his house, and plant his land carefully, now that the barbarian is gone for ever. In the spring we will sail to the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said wishing to lay the Persians under an obligation to him, in case he suffered at the hands of the Athenians : which actually did occur.

CX. Thus spoke Themistocles, dissembling, but the Athenians were convinced. Since his wisdom had lately been demonstrated, even after he had acquired a reputation as a wise and reliable councillor, the Athenians were all the more ready to believe him. They therefore agreed, and Themistocles straightway sent some men in a small boat—whose silence he could rely on even in the hour of torture—with instructions to give to the King. Sicinnus was again one of their number. When they reached Attica, the rest remained on board, but Sicinnus approached Xerxes and spoke as follows :—"Themistocles, the son of Neocles, the Athenian admiral, the greatest genius of the allied forces, has sent me to tell you that, wishing to do you a service, he dissuaded the Hellenes from pursuing you and destroying the bridge over the Hellespont. You can now return unharmed."

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus seems to have recognised the impossibility of doing what even the Romans failed to do.

CXI. After delivering their message, they returned. But the Hellenes when they had decided to stay pursuit, and to abandon the idea of breaking the bridge at the Hellespont, surrounded Andros, and endeavoured to take it. The Andrians had been among the first from whom Themistocles had asked contributions, and had refused his request. Themistocles had told them a little fable, how that the Athenians would come and bring with them two mighty deities, Persuasion and Compulsion, which fact seemed to suggest the advisability of a contribution. They answered that Athens was naturally mighty and prosperous, as he had said, and that it was well that they possessed such satisfactory deities. But the men of Andros, they said, were poorly off as regards land, in fact, exceptionally poor in this respect, and their shores were invariably dominated by two deities, Poverty and Helplessness, who delighted to remain therein. Being possessors of two such deities, the Andrians could not contribute. It would be impossible for the Athenians to squeeze water from a stone. For this answer and their refusal to give money the Athenians began the siege.

CXII. Themistocles, whose passion for aggrandisement was increasing, sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money by the same messengers, and employing the language he had used towards the men of Andros. If they did not accede to his demands, he said, the Hellene army would come against them and take them by siege. This story produced considerable contributions from the Carystians and Parians, who had been told that Andros was being besieged for medising. The reputation of Themistocles, and his popularity with the others, caused them to send these contributions somewhat apprehensively. I cannot say whether any other islands contributed. I think, however, that there were some others. But the Carystians obtained no postponement of misfortune despite their compliance. The Parians, who took the trouble to ingratiate themselves with Themistocles, escaped a visit from the fleet. In fact, Themistocles left Andros and received bribes from the other islanders, without the cognisance of the other generals.

CXIII. After waiting a few days, the troops of Xerxes returned into Boeotia along the road by which they had come. Mardonius considered that it was better for the King to go forward, it being too late in the year for a campaign. He preferred to winter in Thessaly, and to attack the Peloponnese at the beginning of spring. When the army reached Thessaly, Mardonius assembled the regiment of Persians known as the immortals, with the exception of Hydarnes their leader, who refused to leave the King. From the other Persians he selected the breastplate bearers, the thousand picked cavalry, the Medes, Sacians, Bactrians and Indians, who composed his infantry and the rest of the cavalry. These he took to a man, but chose only a few from the other allies, whose stature caught his eye, or those whose reputation for bravery had reached him. The majority were selected from the Persian race, men who wore chains and bracelets ; the next were the Medes, in point of numbers. The latter, though equal in numbers, were inferior to the Persians in stature. They numbered three hundred thousand, including cavalry.

CXIV. While Mardonius was choosing his men, and Xerxes had reached Thessaly, an oracle came from Delphi to the Lacedemonians, bidding them demand satisfaction from Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept whatever was offered. The Spartiatae sent their fastest herald, who came upon the army at Thessaly, and was brought into Xerxes' presence. "King of the Medes," said he, "the Lacedemonians and the sons of Heracles from Sparta demand satisfaction from you, in that you killed their King, who was defending Hellas." The King laughed and remained silent awhile. Then, pointing to Mardonius, who happened to be standing by, he said : "Here is Mardonius, who will give such satisfaction as becomes them."

CXV. The messenger retired with this answer, and Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, pushed on with all speed to the Hellespont. He reached the place of crossing in forty-five days, taking with him practically no part of his army. But wherever they were, they seized and devoured all the crops. If there was no crop, they took the grass that was growing, or cut off the leaves and foliage of

the trees, and ate them, leaving nothing whether growing wild or cultivated. Starvation forced them to do this. Want of provisions and dysentery made short work of the army on the march. The sick they left behind them, ordering the cities, wherever they happened to be, to house and care for them, some being left in Thessaly, others in Siris in Paeonia, others in Macedonia. Then it was discovered that the holy chariot, which he had left there on his arrival in Hellas, could not be recovered. The Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and to Xerxes' demands they answered that the mares had been taken while grazing by some upland Thracians who lived near the source of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here, too, was the scene of a terrible crime perpetrated by the Thracian king of Bisaltea and Crestonice. He refused to swear allegiance to Xerxes, and retired up country to the mountain of Rhodope, forbidding his children to join the expedition against Hellas. But they ignored his command, either from contempt of their father or curiosity to see the campaign, and joined Xerxes. When they returned all six of them safe and sound, the father had their eyes put out, as a punishment for disobedience.

CXVII. Such was their fate. The Persians, after leaving Thrace, reached the channel, and hastily crossed over the Hellespont to Abydos in ships, for they had found the rafts not tightly stretched but scattered by a storm. Here they halted, and found more food than they had secured on the march. They gorged themselves unrestrainedly, and this, combined with a change of water, produced numerous deaths. The remnant eventually reached Sardis with Xerxes.

CXVIII. There is another story which says that Xerxes, on leaving Athens, arrived at Eion on the Strymon, and from this point no longer went by land, but entrusting his army to Hydarnes, to proceed to the Hellespont, he himself embarked on a Phoenician ship and thus reached Asia. A terrible storm caught his vessels, from the direction of the Strymon, raising a tempestuous sea. The storm grew more furious; the ship was so loaded that many of the Persians who had accompanied Xerxes were on deck. The King was panic-stricken, and shouted to the helmsman, asking



if there were any possibility of escape. "Sir," replied the man, "so long as so many are on board, escape is hopeless." Then Xerxes, it is said, addressed his followers: "Men of Persia, let each of you show his respect for your King. It seems that my safety depends upon you." They, then, after saluting the King, jumped overboard into the sea, and the ship, thus lightened, reached Asia in safety. So soon as he disembarked, Xerxes commanded the helmsman<sup>5</sup> to be crowned with gold for saving the King's life. He then had him beheaded for causing the death of so many Persians.

CXIX. This second story about Xerxes' return does not seem at all trustworthy to me, not even with reference to the Persians' fate. For if, as it is alleged, the helmsman did speak to Xerxes, I do not think one man in ten thousand would deny that Xerxes' probable course of action would have been the following. He would have made those on deck who were Persians—and Persian noblemen at that—go down into the "below deck," and had all the rowers cast overboard who were mere Phoenicians, until in number they were equal to the Persians. As a matter of fact, he used the route I have already described, and reached Asia with the remnant of his army.

CXX. The evidence for this is convincing. It appears that Xerxes reached Abdera on his homeward march, where he made an alliance with the people, and presented them with a golden scimitar, and a gold-spangled tiara. Now the Abderans state—which seems to me pure falsehood—that this was the first place at which he halted after leaving Athens, because it was the first land where he could feel secure. But Abdera lies nearer the Hellespont than the Strymon or Eion, from which place they pretend he embarked.

CXXI. The Hellenes were unable to capture Andros. They therefore proceeded to Carystus which they laid waste, and returned to Salamis. First they set apart for the gods the first-fruits of victory, among which were three Phoenician vessels. One they dedicated at the Isthmus, which was in existence in my time, the second at Sunium, the third to

<sup>5</sup> An incident of a similar nature is described by Dumas.



Ajax at Salamis. After this, they divided the rest of the spoil among themselves, and despatched the first-fruits to Delphi, from which was made a statue, which held in its hand a ship's beak, and was about twelve cubits in height. This figure stood hard by the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

CXXII. After sending these trophies to Delphi, they asked the god on behalf of all Hellas if he had indeed received the best, the first-fruits of their victory. He replied that with the gifts of the Hellenes he was satisfied, with the exception of the men of Ægina, from whom he required a gift in that they had obtained the first prize for valour. So the Æginetans dedicated the golden stars, which they set up upon a bronze mast, three in number, in the corner of the Pronaus, next to the bowl of Croesus.

CXXIII. After the distribution of spoil, the Hellenes sailed to the Isthmus, in order to adjudicate the prize of valour to the Hellene who had distinguished himself most in this war. The generals on arriving distributed the votes at the altar of Poseidon, intending to decide upon the first and second. But on this occasion everyone voted for himself, the bravest man in his own eyes, and the majority put Themistocles after themselves. Consequently they all had one vote, but Themistocles far exceeded them in votes for second place.

CXXIV. Out of envy they had no desire to decide this difficult question, and each man sailed back to his own country, leaving the question open. Themistocles was practically admitted to be the greatest genius in Hellas. But since his successes had not been recognised by the combatants at Salamis, he went to Lacedaemon to endeavour to secure the appreciation he deserved. The Lacedaemonians received him well and treated him magnificently. They gave Eurybiades a crown of wild olive for bravery, and a similar crown for cleverness and ability to Themistocles, and the best chariot in Sparta. After this reception, they sent him an escort of three hundred Spartiate regiments called "horsemen" on his return, as far as the Tegean mountains. He was absolutely the only man that I know, to receive the honour of a Spartiate escort.

CXXV. When he came back to Athens from Sparta, Timodemus an Aphidnaean, who was one of Themistocles' enemies, and a person of inferior standing, being nearly mad with jealousy, attacked Themistocles, and taunted him with the fact that the Spartans had received him so well for no personal merit of his own, but owing to their respect for Athens. He interrupted the persistent eloquence of Timodemus and said: "Be it so. Had I been a Belbinite<sup>6</sup> I should not have been so honoured by the Spartiates: no more would you, my friend, had you been an Athenian."

CXXVI. Let us return to the Persians. Artabazus the son of Phanaces, who had been highly reputed among the Persians previously, and added lustre to his name after the battle of Plataea, escorted the King to the channel, taking with him sixty thousand of the troops of Mardonius. After Xerxes had crossed to Asia, he returned by way of Pallene, since Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia, and was in no hurry to join the other contingent. He could not, however, find it in his conscience to allow the rebel Potidaeans to escape servitude: for they had openly thrown off Persian allegiance when the King passed with the fleet during their retreat after Salamis. In fact, the other inhabitants of Pallene had done the same.

CXXVII. Therefore Artabazus invested Potidaea. He also besieged Olynthus, on the suspicion that they too were unfriendly to the King. Olynthus was held by the Bottiaeans who were driven away from the Gulf of Thermae by the Macedonians. When he had taken the town, he took the men out to the harbour and put them to death, handing the city over to the Toronian Critobulus, and to the Chalcidians. This accounts for the Chalcidian possession of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. After this Artabazus prosecuted the siege of Potidaea with energy, and eventually received treacherous offers of surrender from Timoxenus, the Scionaeon general. Its inception I cannot explain, for there is no account of it. The end of it was this. Timoxenus from time to time wrote

<sup>6</sup> Belbina was considered the most insignificant island in Greece. Hence the excellence of the retort.

a letter for Artabazus, or Artabazus wrote a letter for Timoxenus, which, by fastening near to the notched end of the arrow, and putting feathers thereon, they shot into the appointed spot. But Timoxenus was detected in his treachery. For Artabazus, in his attempt to do this, missed the place, and hit a Potidaean in the shoulder. Directly he fell, the people crowded round him, as is their custom, took the arrow, noticed the letter and conveyed it to the generals. Thus was the treachery of Timoxenus disclosed. There were other members of the Pallenian League present. The generals, after reading the letter, observing the traitor's name, decided not to confound Timoxenus with a charge of treachery, for the sake of the Scionaeae city, lest the Scionaeans should ever afterwards possess a reputation for unfaithfulness. Yet such was the method of its discovery.

CXXIX. After the siege had been going on for three months, there took place a mighty ebbing of the sea which lasted a long time. When the barbarians saw that it was traversable on foot, they tried to get past. But when two-fifths of the journey had been accomplished, and there remained still three-fifths in order to be within Pallene south of the town, the tide came in with unparalleled violence, as the inhabitants say, though these variations occur frequently. Some, who did not know how to swim, were drowned: others were despatched by the Potidaeans who sailed out in light boats. The Potidaeans attribute the Persian disaster to the following cause. They maintain that these Persians who perished in the sea were the very men who had impiously handled the statues and offerings in the temple of Poseidon before the city. I think this is a very good explanation. Artabazus led the survivors back to Mardonius in Thessaly.

CXXX. Such was the history of the King's escort. The Persian naval force survived. When they had conveyed the King to Asia, and his army therewith, from the Chersonese to Abydos, they wintered in Cymae, after their defeat at Salamis, and assembled early at Samos, when spring came on. This was the wintering place also of the fleet. The greater part of the fighting men were Medes and Persians, their generals being Mardontes, the son of

Bagaeus, and Artayntes, the son of Artachaeus. His brother's son too was there, by name Ithamitres. Owing to their disastrous defeat, they sailed no farther westward (nor did anyone urge them to do so), but remained in Samos to guard Ionia and prevent any possible revolt, having with them three hundred vessels, with Ionians. They were so far from expecting an attack on Ionia by the Hellenes that they believed they would retire to guard their own country, judging from the fact that there had been no pursuit after Salamis. It seemed, in fact, as if the Hellenes had been glad to get away. Their confidence in this fleet had been utterly shaken, but they firmly believed in the superiority of Mardonius by land. They held a council at Samos to discuss the possibility of injuring the foe, waiting patiently for news of Mardonius' success.

CXXXI. The approach of spring and the presence of Mardonius roused the Hellenes in Thessaly. The infantry was not beginning to muster, but one fleet of a hundred and ten vessels came to Ægina. Leutyichides was the commander, the son of Menares, the son of Hegesilaus, the son of Hippocratides, the son of Leutyichides, the son of Anaxilaus, the son of Archidamus, the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Theopompus, son of Nicandrus, son of Charillus, son of Eunomos, son of Polydectes, son of Prytanis, son of Euryphon, son of Procles, son of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodaeus, son of Hyllus, son of Heracles of the second family of the kings. All these, save the two first mentioned after Leutyichides, became kings of Sparta. The Athenian commander was Xanthippus, the son of Aripbron.

CXXXII. When the whole fleet had reached Ægina, there came some envoys from the Ionians, to the Hellene camp, after having visited Sparta somewhat previously, begging their assistance in shaking off the Persian yoke. Among them was Herodotus, the son of Basileides. Their number in the beginning was seven, and they had conspired against the life of Strattis, the tyrant of Chios. But one of their fellow-conspirators betrayed the plot, and the six were obliged to escape secretly from Chios, whence they went to Sparta, thence to Ægina, beseeching the



Hellenes to sail to the defence of Ionia. They, however, made difficulties about conducting them as far as Delos. The unknown district beyond Delos was particularly frightening to the Hellenes, who did not know the locality, and considered it entirely hostile. They actually thought that Samos was as far off as the Pillars of Heracles. It was a curious coincidence that the barbarians were afraid to sail farther westward than Samos, while the Hellenes, despite the entreaties of the Chians, could not persuade themselves to sail farther east than Delos. The district in between them was thus protected by their reciprocal want of daring.

CXXXIII. The Hellenes sailed to Delos, but Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Thence he sent a man of Europus, called Mys, to inquire of the various oracles throughout Hellas, what he should do. I cannot say what he really expected to learn by these instructions. There is no mention of it anywhere. I expect it was purely about the present conditions which obtained.

CXXXIV. It appears that Mys reached Lebadaea, and having bribed a native of the place descended into the cave of Trophonius, and thence came to Phocian Abae. Above all, on arriving at Thebes, which he did first, he sought an oracle of Ismenian Apollo (it is permitted at Olympia to ask oracles by means of burnt sacrifices) and after that bribed a man who was not a native of Thebes to pass the night in the temple of Amphiaraus. No Theban is allowed to seek oracles in this way. For Amphiaraus bade them through his oracle, choose one of two alternatives, to listen to him as a seer, or as a friend—but the choice must be definite. They chose his friendship. This is why no Theban may pass the night in his temple.

CXXXV. Then occurred a curious event, which surprises me very much. The Thebans say that Mys, the man of Europus, after having called at every oracle in Hellas, reached the shrine of Ptoan Apollo. Though his temple is called Ptoan, it is really Theban, and is situated above Lake Copais on the mountain nearest the city of Acraephia. When then the man called Mys reached this spot, three men chosen from the citizens followed him, in order to write



down any oracle that should be given. Forthwith the seer spoke in the barbarian tongue. The Thebans were very surprised to hear this language instead of Greek, and were quite unable to make notes. Then Mys snatched from them the tablets they had, and wrote down the seer's words. It is said that it was the Carian tongue. When he had finished writing he returned to Thessaly.

CXXXVI. When Mardonius had read the answers of the oracles, he sent an envoy, Alexander, the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, to Athens. His reason for this step was twofold. Firstly, the Persians were related by marriage to this man, for Boubares a Persian had married Gygaea, sister of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas. By her he had a son, Amyntas, who was then in Asia, named after his mother's father, to whom the great city of Alabanda had been presented by the Phrygian monarch. Secondly, Mardonius had learnt that Alexander was regarded with favour and had been Proxenus at Athens. Thus he imagined that he would win the support of Athens, a people whose reputation for bravery was the highest, and to whose agency could be attributed the great disasters which had befallen the Persian arms at sea. With their assistance, he considered that the sea would be his, which was a correct supposition, and he already imagined himself to be superior on land. Thus, he inferred, the Hellenes would be inferior in all departments. It is quite possible that the oracles gave him warning of this and urged him to contract an Athenian alliance. At anyrate, he acted upon this supposition.

CXXXVII. Perdiccas was the ancestor of Alexander, who, seven generations back, had obtained the sceptre of Macedonia in the following way. Three brothers, Gauanes, Æropus and Perdiccas, descendants of Temenus, fled to the Illyrians from Argos, and leaving Thyria, crossed over to Macedonia and came to the city of Lebaea. There they became labourers and worked for the King, the one herding horses, the second being a cowboy, and the youngest, Perdiccas, a swineherd and shepherd. For tyrants, just as democracies, were always badly off for ready money. The King's wife used to knead them their food. And whenever the loaves were being baked, that of the swineherd Per-

diccas always came out twice as great as it was at first. This occurrence became so frequent that she mentioned it to her husband. On hearing of it, he divined that it was a portent, and had some deep significance. He called the three labourers, and requested them to leave his territories. They replied that they would go if they were suitably paid. When the King heard their request, he looked up through the smoke-vent and saw the sun, and said on a sudden mad inspiration: "Here is a reward for you, worthy of your services," and pointed to the sun. Gauanes and Æropus, the two elder, were amazed at this, but the boy who happened to have a sword with him said: "We accept your gift, O King." Whereat, he traced a circle with his sword on the floor round the ray of sunshine, and having thrice received into his bosom the circle of sunlight, retired with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. After they had gone the King was informed by one of the courtiers of the significance of the boy's action, and his intention to take what had been offered. The King was wroth and sent horsemen after them to encompass their death. There happened to be a river in this district to which the refugees from Argos sacrifice as to their saviour. When the Temenids had crossed, it swelled so in bulk that the horsemen could not proceed. Arriving at another part of Macedonia, they dwelt near the gardens which are said to have belonged to Midas, the son of Gordias, in which rose-trees grow without the assistance of man, each tree having sixty petals of exceeding wondrous perfume. Silenus, so the story relates, was caught sleeping in these gardens by the Macedonians. Beyond the gardens is a mountain called Bermion, covered with impassable snows. Getting possession of this district, they eventually acquired the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. Such is the genealogy of Alexander. Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Alcetes, and Æropus was the father of Alcetes, Philippus his father, Argæus the father of Philippus, and he was the son of Perdiccas who seized the kingdom.

CXL. Alexander, the son of Amyntas, reached Athens and made the following speech:—"Men of Athens, hearken

to the words of Mardonius. A message has come to me from the King. 'I forgive the Athenians all the transgressions that I have suffered at their hands. Perform my behests, O Mardonius. Let them preserve their own land and any other territory they wish, with independent government. Build again all the temples which I destroyed by fire, as many as they wish.' Such are my orders and so must I act, unless your actions be hostile to it. What madness, then is this, that you should resist the King? You could never defeat him, nor could you hold out for long on terms of equality. You know the numbers and reputation of the Persian army. You know by repute the force that is with me, and you realise that even if you did vanquish me—an unlikely contingency—another of equal strength would supply its place. Do not, by imagining yourselves the equals of the great King, lose your own land, and be continually risking your own safety. Abandon this attitude. You can now obtain alliance with honour since the King has conceded so much. Remain independent, become our allies without fraud or reservation. This did Mardonius bid me tell you, men of Athens. You have no need to learn from me of our good feeling towards you. It would not be the first time you had heard of it. I implore you, be persuaded by Mardonius. I perceive clearly that you cannot hold out against Xerxes for eternity. Had I thought that you could do this, I should never have made this proposal to you. The might of the great King is god-like, and he rules with a stretched-out arm. If you do not agree forthwith to the liberal offers of the Persians, I fear greatly on your behalf. Your land, of all the allies, lies right in their way, and you are likely to be the chief sufferers, seeing that this very land of yours is particularly suitable for fighting. Be persuaded. The King must esteem you highly if he has forgiven you your transgressions alone of all the Hellenes and wishes to be your friend." So spoke Alexander.

CXLI. When the Lacedaemonians heard of Alexander's mission to Athens, they called to mind the oracles, which predicted the total expulsion of the Dorians from the Peloponnese at the hands of the Medes and Persians. They

were very apprehensive lest the Athenians should ally with the Persians, and determined to send envoys immediately. It so happened that their audience was simultaneous with that of the Persians; for the Athenians had purposely delayed, knowing very well that the Lacedaemonians would also send envoys directly they heard of the Persian embassy. Therefore they waited in order to let the Spartans learn their decision.

CXLII. After Alexander had terminated his speech, the Spartan ambassadors took up the parable. "And we," they said, "have been sent by the Spartans to beg you to make no treacherous rising against Hellas, and to abstain from all friendship with the barbarian. It would not be just, it would not be fitting in the eyes of all Hellas, and we ourselves would be particularly aggrieved thereat for many reasons. You began this war, although we were practically hostile to the idea, and the fighting was always to save your empire. But now the safety of all Hellas is involved. We cannot allow ourselves to look upon the Athenians as voluntarily contributing to the subjugation of all Hellas, after all the harm they have caused. Your reputation as champions of Freedom goes back to prehistoric times. We sympathise with you in your present misfortune. You have lost two harvests, and your property has been in ruins for some considerable time. Therefore the Lacedaemonians tell you that your wives and children and all property which cannot be used for warfare, shall be their special charge, as long as the war lasts. Let not Alexander the Macedonian persuade you with the honeyed suggestions of Mardonius. It is quite in keeping with his character as a tyrant, that he should work heart and soul with a tyrant. But you must not do this, particularly if you realise that no faith or reliance can be placed upon the word of a barbarian."

CXLIII. So spoke the envoys. The Athenians then answered Alexander. "We know, as well as you, that the Persians are numerically superior. Your taunts are superfluous. Yet, since we always were enthusiastic for Freedom, we will still remain her champions to the best of our ability. You should not try to persuade us to join the barbarian, for we never could agree to it. Tell Mardonius then, that this



is the Athenian answer. 'So long as the sun continues his daily course, so long will we remain the enemies of Xerxes.' We place our faith in our gods and heroes, and shall avenge them for whom he showed but scant respect when he burnt their altars and effigies. For the future remember our words and do not appear again before the Athenians, and abandon all idea of suggesting an evil course that good may come of it. But we wish to show no severity to yourself, who have been a sojourner in Athens and a friend to her people."

CXLIV. Such was their answer to Alexander. They then addressed the Spartan envoys: "It was very human to fear that we should join the barbarians. But you appear to your shame, despite your intimate knowledge of the Athenian character, to fear that there is no gold of sufficient rarity, no land of sufficient beauty and excellence which would not induce us, on acquiring it, to join the Persians and enslave Hellas. Yet there are many weighty reasons against such a course even if we had the will to do it. First and most important of all, is the fact that it is our duty to avenge as far as in us lies, the gods whose shrines and effigies have been burnt, rather than make alliance with their desecrators. Secondly, it would have been scarcely fitting to betray the Hellenes, whose blood is in our veins, whose tongue is ours, whose gods and services are ours, whose customs also are our own. Be assured that even if you had had to wait for your information from Athens, we should never have allied ourselves with Xerxes. We are obliged to you, however, for your foresight on our behalf, and your desire to support our families who are homeless. You have amply discharged any obligation under which you lay. We shall hold out as best we may, without troubling you. We suggest, under the present circumstances, an immediate advance of your army. If our suppositions are correct, the barbarian will be before our gates at no distant date, so soon as he hears that his embassy has been fruitless. Before he reaches Attica, we must send assistance to Boeotia." With this answer the ambassadors returned to Sparta.



## BOOK IX

### CALLIOPE

I. ALEXANDER brought back the news of the events at Athens, whereat Mardonius led his army out of Thessaly and marched in haste on that city. He took with him from each place that he passed all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms. The Thessalian generals exhibited no regret at the disasters, but incited the Persians to further deeds of aggression. Among them, Thorax of Larissa, who had escorted Xerxes during his retreat, made himself conspicuous by giving Mardonius a passage into Hellas.

II. When the army reached Boeotia, the Thebans attempted to check Mardonius, and advised him to encamp there, observing that in all Hellas there was no more suitable spot, and that his enemies owing to his advantageous position would surrender without striking a blow. "You must consider," said they, "that if the Hellenes remain united—a fact which has already been experienced—mankind at large could not subdue them without difficulty. Follow our advice, and you will make yourself master of their plans of campaign. Send money to the most influential men in the cities. This will sow dissension among them. Then with the aid of the corruptible you will easily reduce those whose thoughts are otherwise."

III. He did not follow this counsel. A mad desire had filled his heart once more to take Athens; his mind was weak, and his vanity was tickled with the idea of announcing to the King in Sardis the capture of Athens by a series of beacons from isle to isle. Once more he found Attica desolate of Athenians, yet hearing that the majority of them were on the ships at Salamis, he occupied the lonely city. Xerxes had taken Athens ten months before this.

IV. While in Athens, Mardonius sent Murychides, a Hellespontine, to Salamis with a message similar to that delivered to the Athenians by Alexander, the Macedonian. He sent a second messenger despite the hostile attitude of the Athenians because he hoped that their ardour would be diminished after seeing Attica taken by the sword, and the whole country in his hands. For this reason, therefore, he sent Murychides to Salamis.

V. On his arrival he discoursed to the council as Mardonius had dictated. Lycides, one of the Senators, then stated his own opinion to this effect: the propositions of Mardonius should be referred to the people. Such was the suggestion, whether spontaneous, or induced by judicious bribes from Mardonius. This roused the Athenians to a pitch of indignation, whereat they surrounded Lycides and stoned him to death, but Murychides they sent back unharmed. The death of Lycides caused some commotion, and the matter was noised abroad among the Athenian women. Straightway, woman encouraged woman, and one followed another to the house of Lycides, where with entire unanimity they stoned with stones his wife and children.

VI. The Athenians had crossed over to Salamis in the following way. As long as they hoped for a relieving force from the Peloponnese, so long did they remain in Attica. But as time dragged heedlessly on, and the attacking force was already in Boeotia, they finally carried across all their goods and themselves crossed to Salamis, and sent messengers to Lacedemon, complaining that the Lacedemonians had permitted the barbarians to attack Attica, without assisting the Athenians to repel their advance. They also called to remembrance the promises which the Persians had made to them, and also threatened that if assistance were not sent, they would themselves discover some means of salvation.

VII. At this time the Lacedemonians happened to be celebrating the feast of "Hyacinthia"—to which ceremony they attached prodigious importance. They were just completing also their wall across the Isthmus to which the battlements were already added. When the Athenian

messengers reached Lacedemon, introducing with them ambassadors from Megara and Plataea, they addressed the ephors in the following fashion :—

(a) “The Athenians have sent us to inform you that the King of the Medes offers to return to us our own land, and to make an alliance with us without fraud or guile on terms of perfect equality. He promises, too, to give us any other country we choose to take. But we, who fear the god of Hellas, and hold treachery a most flagitious thing, have refused these offers, though we have been slighted by the Hellenes, and are fully aware of the benefits accruing from a surrender to Persia. War is a less profitable occupation. We shall never be willing to become traitors, for we devote ourselves heart and soul to the common cause.

(b) “At that time you were excessively apprehensive, lest we should surrender to the Persian, but when you were told of our unalterable decision not to betray Hellas, and seeing that your wall across the Isthmus is now complete, you forget our existence ; it was agreed that you should march with us to the defence of Boeotia, yet you are indifferent to the barbarians’ approach. The Athenians are wroth with you, for your actions are unjustifiable. They now request you to send back an army speedily with us, in order that we may receive the barbarian in Attica.

VIII. “Since Boeotia is lost, the most suitable battleground in our country is the Thriasian Plain.” The ephors postponed their answer to this vehemence until the following day, and from day to day for ten days, during which time they directed all their energies to building the wall, which was almost ready. I cannot say why, when Alexander, the Macedonian, came to Athens, they were so eager to prevent the Athenians medising, but at this period they showed no concern, unless it be that they felt that their wall was now complete, and that the Athenians ceased to be indispensable. But when Alexander was at Athens, it was yet incomplete, and their eagerness was inspired by fear of the Persians.

IX. Eventually an answer was given and the Spartiatae marched out in this way. The eve of the last audience, a Tegean, named Chileus, who was the most influential

stranger in Lacedemon, was informed by the ephors of the Athenian statements. To which he said : " The matter is even so, ephors. If the Athenians abandon us for an alliance with Persia, even though your wall across the Isthmus be strong, there will yet be large breaches through which the Persians can enter the Peloponnese. Grant their request, before they bring disaster on Hellas."

X. Such was his advice. They realised its excellence, and without saying a word to the envoys from the various cities, they despatched by night five thousand Spartiatae and seven helots a-piece, and entrusted the command to Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus : this honour belonged rightfully to Pleistarchus, son of Leonidas ; but he was still a child, and Pausanias was both his cousin and guardian. Cleombrotus was the father of Pausanias, and son of Anaxandrides : he was, however, dead, passing away at the moment when he had conducted the troops back after their completion of the wall. The reason was this : while he was sacrificing for success against the Persians, the sun suddenly vanished from heaven. Pausanias took with him Euryanax, son of Dorieus, a relative of his own. Thus the army with Pausanias left Sparta.

XI. When day broke, the ambassadors, who were ignorant of what had happened, went to the ephors, with the intention of taking their leave. " Men of Lacedemon, you remain at home, celebrating your feasts and enjoying yourselves, while all the time you are betraying Hellas. The Athenians, therefore, after this disgraceful treatment of you and your allies, will reconcile themselves with the Persians as best they may. One of the conditions of alliance will be that we shall assist them in their campaign, and march with them whithersoever they desire. You will then appreciate what he will do to you." The ephors swore to them, that those who were marching against the " strangers " were already in Oresteion. The Lacedemonians call the barbarians " strangers." They, in ignorance, asked what had happened, and were informed, so that in wonder they departed to join the expedition in all haste, and with them went five thousand chosen hoplites from the surrounding country.



XII. They pushed on towards the Isthmus. As soon as the Argives heard that the expedition with Pausanias had left Sparta, they sent their speediest herald to Attica, having promised Mardonius to prevent such a move on the part of the Spartiatae. He, on arriving at Athens, spoke as follows :—"Mardonius, the Argives have sent me to tell you that the youth of Lacedemon is gone out, and that the Argives cannot prevent them. Look well therefore to yourself." He then returned.

XIII. Mardonius, on hearing this, was not wishful to remain in Attica. Before he heard this, he had practised much restraint, since he wished to learn what the Athenians would do, and had refrained from ravaging and pillaging Attica, in the hope that they would be reconciled. Since he had failed, on hearing the whole matter, he put his army in movement before Pausanias reached the Isthmus, after having previously set fire to Athens and razed to the ground any building, temple, or wall that had remained erect. He left because the ground was not suitable for cavalry manœuvres, and if he lost a battle, his only means of retreat was through a narrow defile, which could be defended by a handful of men. He decided to retire to Thebes, and fight in a friendly country, where his cavalry could be available.

XIV. While he was on the march, a messenger met him and announced that a body of a thousand Lacedemonians had reached Megara. He began to devise some stratagem for capturing them. He returned on his tracks and marched towards Megara. His cavalry, which was sent in front, completely devastated the Megarid. This was the farthest point towards the sunset that the Persian army ever reached in Europe.

XV. Then came another message to Mardonius, to the effect that the Hellenes were concentrated at the Isthmus. Accordingly he retraced his steps through Decelea. The Boeotian leaders had sent him as guides some of the dwellers on the banks of the Asopus, and they conducted him to Sphendaleae, and thence to Tanagra. At Tanagra, he camped for the night, and on the morrow he started in the direction of Scolus and reached the Theban



territory. Here he cut down the trees, despite the fact that the Thebans had medised, not through hostility of purpose, but owing to force of necessity. His object was to firmly entrench himself, so that in the event of a defeat, he might have a haven for refuge. His camp, which began at Erythrae by Hysia extended into the Plataean region, stretching as far as the Asopus. However, his fortifications were not so vast, but consisted of a square, each side of which was ten stades. While the barbarians were occupied in this work, Attaginus, son of Phrynon, a Theban, made magnificent preparations, and invited Mardonius and fifty of the noblest Persians to a banquet. They accepted and the dinner took place at Thebes.

XVI. I was told what happened afterwards by Thersander of Orchomenus, a most notable citizen of that town. Thersander said that he too was invited by Attaginus, and fifty Theban citizens likewise; they did not recline separately, but a Persian and a Theban on each couch. After the eating was finished, the company began to drink, and his companion asked him in Hellene tongue whence he came. "From Orchomenus," said Thersander. Then said the Persian: "Since you have shared my libations and my couch, I should like to leave you something by which to remember me, and my presentiments, that you being forewarned may be forearmed. Do you see all these Persians feasting, and the army that is encamped by the river? In a short time, I tell you, you will see but a few of them surviving." Whereupon the Persian fell to weeping bitterly. Then said Thersander in amazement: "Surely you should tell this to Mardonius and his staff?" The Persian replied: "Stranger, the decrees of Heaven are inevitable, nor can man escape them. No one believes a man who tells the truth. Many of us know what awaits us, but we are bound fast by necessity. The greatest sorrow that men can know, is to have knowledge, and yet be impotent to use it." Such was the story that I heard from Thersander of Orchomenus. Moreover, he added that he told this tale everywhere before the battle of Plataea.

XVII. While Mardonius was encamped in Boeotia the other Hellenes who had medised all joined the forces, and

attacked Athens with the Persians. The Phocians alone held aloof. They had medised not voluntarily but under compulsion. Not many days after the Persian return to Thebes, a thousand of their hoplites joined the forces. Harmocydes, their most notable citizen, was in command. On their arrival at Thebes, Mardonius sent a messenger to them and told them to take up an isolated position on the plain. They did so, and suddenly the whole cavalry surrounded them. Then a report spread abroad among the medising Hellenes, that the Phocians were going to be slain with javelins, and this rumour reached likewise the Phocians themselves. Then Harmocydes encouraged them in the following speech:—"Phocians, it is obvious that they are about to slay us on a preconcerted plan. I imagine that the Thessalians have slandered us. Every one of you must now show himself to be a man. It is better to die fighting to the end, than to be cut down shamefully without offering resistance. Let these barbarians learn what it is to devise a massacre of Hellenes."

XVIII. So he spoke. The cavalry meanwhile surrounded them, charged them as if about to crush them, poised their javelins, and some even discharged them. The Phocians faced them, keeping as close and serried rank as possible. Suddenly the horsemen wheeled round and returned. I cannot say with accuracy whether they meant to charge the Phocians to death at the instigation of the Thessalians, and that when they saw the enemy prepared to receive their attack, they feared lest they themselves might suffer somewhat, and therefore retreated (such had been the order of Mardonius), or whether they were merely testing the courage of the Phocians. After the retirement of the cavalry, Mardonius sent a herald to them, who said: "Be of good cheer, Phocians. You have shown yourselves to be brave men, contrary to the report I had received. Therefore, fight with enthusiasm. You will never outdo Xerxes or myself in generosity." Such was the episode of the Phocians.

XIX. On reaching the Isthmus, the Lacedemonians encamped there. When the other Peloponnesians who supported the better cause heard this, and saw the Spartiatae

marching out, they deemed it dishonourable to absent themselves from this campaign. At the Isthmus they consulted the victims, and since the result was favourable, the whole army passed over to Eleusis. Again they consulted the victims, and again the response was favourable, so that they proceeded on their march. The Athenians at this juncture crossed from Salamis and joined them in Eleusis. When they reached Erythrae in Boeotia, they were told that the barbarians were encamped on the Asopus, whereat they took up a position opposite at the foot of Cithaeron.

XX. Since the Hellenes did not descend to the plain, Mardonius sent all his cavalry out against them, led by Masistius, a worthy Persian, who is called Macistius by the Hellenes—mounted on a Nisaeon charger with a gold bit and other luxurious trappings. The cavalry attacked by squadrons, effected much loss, and called their enemies women.

XXI. The Megarians happened to be stationed in that part of the country which was most open to attack, and afforded a more easy approach for the cavalry. Being somewhat weakened by the onslaught, they sent a herald to the Hellene commander, who spoke as follows:—"Thus say the Megarians. We, O allies, cannot receive the Persian horse in our isolated position, and preserve the order which we first enjoyed. By our firmness and valour we have indeed stood fast, though sore distressed. Unless you send us reinforcements, our ranks will inevitably be broken." Whereupon Pausanias asked for some volunteers to go and support the Megarians. No one came forward, save the Athenians, and from them were chosen three hundred men under the command of Olympiodorus, son of Lampon.

XXII. These troops voluntarily sacrificed themselves, and were stationed at Erythrae in the van of the Hellenes, with the archers on their wing. After some fighting, the fortune of war fell out thus. In the cavalry charges by squadron, the horse of Masistius, who led all the rest, was struck by an arrow in the flank. It reared up with pain, and threw Masistius to the ground, where the Athenians forthwith surrounded him. They seized the horse, and despatched him despite his furious defence, and with

great difficulty for his armour was most complete. He wore a gold mail breastplate, and over this a purple tunic. The coat of mail turned their blows, until perceiving this someone smote him through the eye. Thus he fell and died. But his fate was unperceived by the squadrons, who had not seen him fall from his horse or die, and since a retreat had been effected, they were ignorant of the catastrophe. But when they resumed their ranks, having no one to direct them, they missed him greatly. Learning his fate, all advanced with mutual cries of encouragement, in order to rescue his corpse.

XXIII. The Athenians saw that the cavalry attacked no longer in squadrons, but all together, and shouted for reinforcements. Immediately the whole foot force came to their assistance, and the fight raged furiously round the corpse. So long as the three hundred were without assistance, they were compelled to retire and abandon the body, but when these copious reinforcements arrived, the cavalry were no longer able to hold their own : they could not pick up the corpse, and in addition suffered severe loss in their attempts. They retreated for a distance of two stades, and held a council of war. They decided to return to Mardonius, since their leader had fallen.

XXIV. When the cavalry returned to camp, universal mourning was expressed at the death of Masistius, Mardonius being chiefly conspicuous in this respect ; they shaved their hair and the manes of their horses and baggage animals, and indulged in unrestrained lamentations. And the echo filled all Boeotia : for, after Mardonius, the noblest Persian and the one most honoured by the great King was now no more. Thus, in their own way, did the barbarians honour the dead Masistius.

XXV. The Hellenes, after having thus withstood and repelled the cavalry charge, became much more self-confident. They first put the corpse of Masistius in a waggon and drove it past the ranks. It was the body of a man remarkable for stature and beauty, wherefore they quitted their ranks to gaze on Masistius. Then they decided to descend to Plataea, where the country seemed much more suitable for encampment than the Erythraean territory, and

much better watered. Therefore they resolved to descend to this country, to the spring of Gargaphia, and encamp there rank and rank. Wherefore they took up their arms, and crossing the foot of Cithaeron past Hysia, they reached the Plataean land, and were stationed according to their nations near this fountain and the shrine of Androcrates, the hero, in the plain and upon some slightly rising ground.

XXVI. Here there arose a violent quarrel between the Athenians and Tegeans for precedence. Each claimed the other wing, which claims they supported by appeals to present and past history. The Tegeans spoke as follows :—  
“ We have always obtained this position among the allies from time immemorial whenever the Peloponnesians campaigned together. This has been so ever since the Heracleidae, after the death of Eurystheus, endeavoured to return to the Peloponnese. We acquired it in the following circumstances. When we encamped before the attacking force at the Isthmus with the assistance of the Achaeans and Ionians, who chanced to be in the Peloponnese, Hyllus, it is said, proclaimed that the whole army should not be risked in one attack, or battle universally joined, but that from the Peloponnesian camp they should pick out one whom they deemed the most valorous. This warrior he would himself fight alone under certain conditions. The Peloponnesians agreed and swore an oath therewith, that if Hyllus defeat the Peloponnesian champion, the Heracleidae shall return to their patrimony, but if he fall, then must the sons of Heracles retreat once more, and make no attempt to enter the Peloponnese for a hundred years. From the whole army was chosen a volunteer, Echemus, son of Æropus, son of Pheges, our King and leader. He fought and slew Hyllus. For this reason our honour among the Peloponnesians was prodigious, which we still preserve, and therefore invariably command the wing when a joint expedition is made. We have no quarrel with you, Lacedaemonians ; we give you the choice of wing, and are prepared to agree to it. The other wing we say that we are competent to lead as in the times gone by. Apart even from these privileges, we are more worthy to occupy this post than the Athenians. We have often fought valiantly against you,



Spartiatæ, and often too against other foes. Therefore we claim the wing before the Athenians. Neither their past nor present history can compare with our own.

XXVII. To this the Athenians replied: "We understand that the object of this assembly is war, not debate. Since, however, the Tegeans have been pleased to recall their memorable exploits before the dawn of history, we are forced to show you, that with us it has been far more our hereditary right to fight in the first rank, than with the Arcadians, and we ever proved ourselves valorous. We were the first to receive the Heracleidae, after their repulsion by the rest of Hellas—whose chief they claim to have slain—we curbed the insolence of Eurysthenes, after they had escaped the yoke of Mycenæ, and joining with them, we defeated those who then occupied the Peloponnese. Afterwards, when the Argives, who attacked Thebes with Polyneices, perished and were left unburied, we glory in the fact that we warred on the Cadmeans, removed the corpses, and buried them in our own land in Eleusis. Many were our excellent deeds against the Amazons who made an inroad from the River Thermodon into the Attic land. Before Troy, too, we were never found wanting. But why recall ancient history? Those who now are feeble, were once mighty, and those who then were feeble, are now perchance all powerful. Enough of old wives' tales. Had we nothing else to show, though we are second to none in Hellas for our wealth in noble deeds, we should for this alone demand with justice this privilege—our victory at Marathon. Moreover, we are the only Hellenes who alone and unaided have defeated the Persians, routing on that day the forces of forty-six nations, and being ourselves unscathed. Surely this deed alone is sufficient? Yet since this is not the moment for internal dissension, we are ready to be guided by you, O Lacedæmonians, and to be placed wherever you think fit. Wherever we are, we shall endeavour to be pre-eminent. Command—and we obey."

XXVIII. After this speech, the whole Lacedæmonian army shouted as one man that the Athenians were more worthy of this privilege than the Arcadians. Thus the

Athenians acquired the post, at the expense of the Tegeans. Then the Hellenes who had just come, and those who had joined from the beginning, were drawn up in this manner. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedemonians; five thousand of these who were Spartiatae were followed by thirty-five thousand light armed helots, seven for each man. The Spartiatae chose the Tegeans to stand next themselves, to honour them for their bravery. Of these, there were fifteen hundred heavy armed warriors. Next to them came five thousand Corinthians, who had been permitted by Pausanias to locate with themselves three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene. Then six hundred Arcadians of Orchomenus, and after them three thousand Sicyonians. Then eight hundred Epidaurians. Beside them were drawn up a thousand men of Troezen, then two hundred from Leprea, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, next a thousand Phliasians. After them came three hundred Hermiones : after the Hermiones six hundred Eretrians and Styreans, followed by four hundred Chalcidians, and five hundred Ampraciots. Then stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, after whom came two hundred Paleans from Cephallenia; then five hundred Æginetans, three thousand Megarians, and six hundred Plataeans. First and last were the Athenians, to the number of eight thousand on the left wing. They were commanded by Aristides, son of Lysimachus.

XXIX. All, with the exception of the helots in the train of each Spartiate, were heavily armed, forming a total of thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men. The light armed troops were composed of the seven who followed each Spartiate, and of one for each other Lacedemonian and Hellene warrior, reaching in all the number of sixty-nine thousand five hundred, all fighting men.

XXX. The whole Hellene army at Plataea, counting light and heavy armed troops, mustered a hundred and ten thousand, all but eighteen hundred men. With the Thespians who arrived, the hundred and ten thousand were complete. The remnant of this people had joined the army to the number of eighteen hundred, but they were merely light armed.

XXXI. In this order they encamped on the Asopus. After finishing the funeral lamentations for Masistius, the barbarians with Mardonius heard that the Hellenes were in Plataea, and themselves came down to the Asopus which traverses this territory. Mardonius then stationed them in this order. Against the Lacedemonians, he drew up the Persians, and since they were more numerous, he ranged them in several lines, facing the Tegeans as well. His method was this, suggested by the Thebans. His strongest men he stationed opposite the Lacedemonians, the weakest opposite the Tegeans. Next to the Persians he put the Medes. They opposed the Corinthians, Potidaeans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. Then the Bactrians who faced the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Lepreans, Tirynthians, Myceneans and Phliasians. After the Bactrians he had the Indians; they faced the Hermiones, Eretrians, Styreans and Chalcidians. Next came the Sacians. They opposed the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetans. To withstand the Athenians, Megarians and Plataeans he stationed Boeotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians and the thousand Phocians. All the Phocians had not medised; some of them enclosed in the district of Parnassus favoured the Hellenes, and harassed Mardonius and the Hellenes with him by frequent attacks. The Macedonians and Thessalians were also drawn up against the Athenians.

XXXII. Such were the names of the more popular and remarkable nations which formed the army of Mardonius. There was naturally a sprinkling of other nations, Phrygians, Mysians, Thracians, Paeonians, and others. There were, too, some Æthiopians and Egyptians, both Hermotybies and Calasires, called sword-bearers, who are the only Egyptian fighting men. These he had embarked while he was still at Phaleron; there were no Egyptians in the land force that had reached Athens with Xerxes. But no one knows the number of the Hellenes who were with Mardonius (they never were numbered), but I might merely conjecture fifty thousand. The foot was drawn up on one side, the cavalry apart.

XXXIII. When both sides had been ranged according

to nationality and in battalions, on the second day both sides sacrificed. The sacrificer for the Hellenes was Tisamenus, the son of Antilochus. He was the military seer. He came from Elis, of the race of the Iamidae, and had obtained citizen rights at Lacedemon. Tisamenus had consulted the Pythoness at Delphi about his posterity, and had been told that he would be victorious in five of the greatest contests. He misunderstood the oracle, and devoted himself to gymnastic exercises in the hope of winning at the games. He competed in the Pentathlon, and was beaten in one event for an Olympian prize by Hieronymus of Andros. Then the Lacedemonians, perceiving that the oracle referred not to gymnastic but to military struggles, attempted to bribe him to accept a military command with their kings, descendants of Heracles. When he realised the eagerness of the Spartiatae to secure his friendship, he refused, signifying his intention of acquiescing only if they made him a citizen. The Spartiatae at first angrily refused, and ignored the oracle altogether, but at length, owing to the panic inspired by the impending Persian onslaught, they consented. Then he said that even this was not enough but that his brother Hegias must become a Spartiate on the same conditions as himself.

XXXIV. In this matter he imitated Melampus, if I may compare the rights of citizenship with the privileges of a throne which the latter obtained. The Argives had asked him to come from Pylus and heal their womenfolk who had been smitten with madness. In return for such a service, he demanded half the kingdom. The Argives refused and went back. But when more women became mad, they gave way and returning to Melampus agreed to his request. Seeing that they had submitted, his pretensions likewise rose, and he stated that if they did not give to his brother Bias a third of the kingdom, they could hope for nothing from him. The Argives were placed in a dilemma and did as he requested.

XXXV. In like manner the Spartiatae, whose need was imperative, acquiesced in the desires of Tisamenus. With these concessions, Tisamenus the Elean became the Spartiate seer in five mighty contests, and joined them in their triumph



on each occasion. These were the only two men who ever became Spartiatae. The five battles were these : the first at Plataea, the second at Tegea against the Tegeans and Argives, the third at Dipaea against all the Arcadians with the exception of the Mantineans ; fourthly, against the Messenians at Ithome, and lastly, at Tanagra against the Athenians and Argives. This was the last of the five contests.

XXXVI. So Tisamenus sacrificed at Plataea for the Hellenes. The sacrifices fell out auspiciously for them if they remained on the defensive, but not if they crossed the Asopus and began fighting.

XXXVII. Mardonius, likewise, who was eager to begin battle, found that his victims pointed to defensive rather than aggressive measures. He too used the Hellene ceremonial, having with him as seer Hegesistratus, an Elean, and one of the most esteemed of the Telliadae, who before this had been seized and bound by the Spartiatae to await execution, because he had caused them unholy disasters. In this evil plight, about to lose his life after most painful and agonising torture, he performed a deed which cannot be sufficiently praised. Bound as he was to a log, plated with iron, he got hold of a sword which had doubtless been brought him, and did the most splendid and manly thing which has ever been done. Measuring exactly how much of the rest of his foot he could remove from the fetter, he cut off the broad part.<sup>1</sup> This done, in order to avoid the sentinels, he pierced the wall, and made good his escape to Tegea, travelling by night, but in the day resting and hiding in the woods, and thus on the third night reached Tegea, though all the Lacedemonian army searched for him. They marvelled at his bravery when they saw half his foot on the ground, but could find him nowhere. After eluding the Lacedemonians he found in Tegea a haven of refuge, which was at that time not united to the Lacedemonians. Here he healed him of his wound, and making a wooden foot, became for ever after the implacable foe of the Lacedemonians. Nevertheless, his hatred did not benefit him in the end, for he was captured by them at Zacynthus and put to death.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ῥαπρος* means the part of the foot between the toes and the heel. In this case it probably includes the toes too.



XXXVIII. But his death occurred, of course, after Plataea. At this time he was receiving a large salary from Mardonius for his sacrificial duties, and was inspired by love of gain and hatred of the Lacedemonians. However, the sacrifices favoured neither Hellenes nor Persians if they engaged in immediate battle—the latter also had their seer, Hippomachus the Leucadian. Meanwhile reinforcements arrived for the Hellenes, and their numbers were continually increasing. Whereat Timagenides, son of Herpys, a Theban, advised Mardonius to guard the approach from Cithaeron, explaining that the Hellene ranks increased daily, and there was a chance of intercepting many of them.

XXXIX. Eight days had passed and the position in no way changed, when Mardonius received this advice. Considering the suggestion excellent, he despatched his cavalry at nightfall to the approaches of Cithaeron which abut on the Plataean land, which the Boeotians call "The Three Heads," and the Athenians, "The Heads of Oak." Their mission was not in vain. Rushing on to the plain, they captured five hundred sumpter animals, which were conveying supplies to the Peloponnesian camp, and with them the convoy. Seizing the supplies, they massacred the men, and did not even spare the animals. When they had made an end of slaying, they drove the remnant back to Mardonius to their camp.

XL. After this, they waited yet two more days, neither side wishing to begin battle. The barbarians advanced as far as the Asopus, but did not dare to cross. But the Persian cavalry continually harassed and injured the Hellenes. The Thebans, whose medism had been extensive, prosecuted the war with enthusiasm and always guided them to battle, where the Medes and Persians invariably displayed singular valour.

XLI. Ten days were now past, and nothing had been done. When the eleventh day broke, the Hellenes had received considerable reinforcements, and the patience of Mardonius was at an end. Then Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians whom Xerxes delighted to honour, held a council of war. Artabazus said that they ought to strike their

camp with all speed, and take up a position beneath the ramparts of Thebes, whither fitting supplies for themselves and provender for their beasts had been conveyed, and that they could continue there without having to fight, and put an end to the war in this way. They had, he said, plenty of money in coin, plenty in bullion, plenty of silver and a wealth of cups. If they sent this with unstinting hand to the Hellenes—that is, to the pre-eminent Hellenes in each town—they would soon betray their freedom, and would endeavour to escape a battle. This was likewise the Theban view; his plan showed more foresight than did Mardonius, whose advice was more violent, more reckless, and less conciliatory. “Our army,” he cried, “is far superior to the Hellene muster. Let us attack before others join them, and let the sacrifices of Hegesistratus go hang: let us disregard them without attempting to compel them, and attack only in Persian fashion.

XLII. Since no one opposed this vehemence, this opinion won the day. His command of the army came from Xerxes, and Artabazus had no such authority. He sent then for the leaders of battalions, and the generals of his own Hellenes and asked them if they knew of any oracle which predicted the utter annihilation of the Persians on Hellene shores. The chosen leaders kept silence, some through ignorance, some through fear of inopportune utterances. Then said Mardonius: “Since then you either are ignorant or do not dare to say what you know, I myself will tell you. There is an oracle which predicts that the Persians must pillage the temple at Delphi, and after this suffer utter destruction. Knowing this, we forbore to attack this shrine or even to visit it, and for this reason we shall not be overthrown. Wherefore as many of you as wish to see the triumph of the Persian arms, may now rejoice, and be assured that for this reason we shall defeat the Hellenes.” With these words, he ordered them to have everything in perfect readiness for attack on the following day.

XLIII. The oracle which Mardonius quoted as referring to the Persians was made, as I know for a fact, to the Illyrians and the army of the Enchelians, but not to the Persians. But the oracle given to Bacis referred to this battle.

“Lo ! by the Thermodon’s wave, and the grassy banks of  
Asopus,  
Barbarous cries shall he heard and the voice of the Hellenes in  
conflict :  
There before fate decreed, or Lachesis cut off their life’s thread,  
Shall fall Persians and Medes, when the day of doom shall  
o’ertake them.”

I know as a matter of fact that this and another oracle like it was given by Musaeus, which did refer to the Persians. The Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas.

XLIV. After the questioning and speech of Mardonius, night fell and the sentinels were posted. When the night was far advanced, and peace fell on both camps, all the men seeming to be asleep, Alexander, son of Amyntas, approached on horseback the Athenian pickets, and desired to make a communication to their generals. The majority of the sentinels stood to their posts, but some ran to the generals, and told them that a man had come on horseback from the Median camp, and that he refused to say anything except that he must speak with the generals.

XLV. They straightway followed the guard, and Alexander made them the following speech :—“ Athenians, I place confidence in you, and rely on you to divulge my words to no one, save to Pausanias. Otherwise I shall surely die. I should never have broken silence did I not value highly the salvation of all Hellas. I am of old Hellene blood, and I should never like to see this free Hellas enslaved. I tell you that Mardonius and his staff were unable to obtain satisfactory answers from the sacrifices : otherwise you should have fought long ago. But now he has decided to think no more of the victims, but at dawn to attack you. For he feared, I suppose, that your numbers would still go on increasing. Therefore be ready. If Mardonius postpones his attack, abide in your camp. In a few days their provisions will be exhausted. And if this war end in victory for you, remember me, I pray you, and make me, too, free : for I have risked much in my zeal for the Hellenes, because I wished to reveal to you the intentions of Mardonius, and save you from sudden overthrow beneath the barbarian yoke. I am Alexander, the Mace-

donian." With these words he returned to the camp and the line that he had left.

XLVI. The Athenian generals crossed to the right wing and informed Pausanias of all that Alexander had told them. But he feared the might of the Persians and said : " Since the attack is to begin at dawn, we must take up our post facing the Boeotians, and the Hellenes drawn up against you, while you Athenians must face the Persians, because you understand the Medes and their methods of fighting, for you defeated them at Marathon, while we have never met these foes before. No Spartiate has ever fought against the Medes. But we understand the Boeotian and Thessalian method of warfare ; take up your arms therefore and cross to our wing while we will cross to yours." To this the Athenians replied : " We had the idea some time ago of suggesting to you what you have just now put before us. But we had no desire to injure your feelings. But since the suggestion comes from you, we are very pleased with it, and are ready to do as you desire."

XLVII. Both sides were pleased with this arrangement, and as day began to break they took up their new positions. The Boeotians immediately perceived what had taken place, and reported it to Mardonius. When he heard it, he ordered a similar change, and brought his Persians up against the Lacedemonians. When Pausanias saw this, and realised that his stratagem had been discovered, he brought the Spartiatae back to the right wing, while Mardonius similarly stationed the Persians on the left.

XLVIII. Since they had returned to their former positions, Mardonius sent a herald to the Spartiatae, and spoke as follows :—" Lacedemonians, you have the reputation of being the bravest men alive among the inhabitants of this country. You never retreat from battle, but stand fast and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. This was therefore an unfounded rumour. Before we even begin to fight, we have seen you retreat and leave your ranks, giving the Athenians the task of opposing us, and drawing yourselves up against our slaves. This is not the action of brave men ; we are grievously mistaken in you. We had expected, in accordance with your renown, that you



would send a herald and say before all that you only would fight with the Persians. Yet we find you not only omitting to do this, but in a state of consternation. This proposition we make to you, seeing that you have lost the opportunity of making it first to us. If you think the rest ought to fight, let them fight afterwards. Why should not you, who are deemed so valiant, and we fight in equal numbers on behalf of the Hellenes? Whichever of us wins, his whole army is victorious thereat."

XLIX. After saying this he waited, but seeing that no one made answer, the herald returned to Mardonius and gave in his report. He became exultant, and exaggerating this success, in cold blood as it were, threw his cavalry upon the Hellenes. They charged and wrought much havoc among the Hellene army with their javelins and arrows. They were mounted archers, and could not be attacked at close quarters. They dammed up and annihilated the fountain Gargaphia from which the Hellene army drew its water. The Lacedæmonians alone were stationed near this spring; the others who were farther off, according to the order of battle, had the Asopus near them. Yet when they were prevented from drawing water from the Asopus, they used to go to the spring. They had been prevented from drawing water from the river owing to the cavalry and archers.

L. When this happened, the Hellene leaders assembled before Pausanias on the right wing to deliberate on this and many other questions, when they found that they had been deprived of water owing to the cavalry attack. They had still more grave problems to face. Provisions had given out; the convoy which had been sent to fetch provisions from the Peloponnese had been cut off by the cavalry and had been unable to reach their camp.

LI. They decided, seeing that the Persians had postponed their attack for that day, to go to the island which is about ten stades from Asopus and the spring Gargaphia, where they were now encamped, in front of the town of Plataea. This is an island in the midst of a continent. I will explain how it was probably formed. The river splits into two at the foot of Cithaeron, and flows down into the plain, its two branches being about three stades from each other, but



afterwards they unite. It is called *Æroe*. The natives say that she was the daughter of *Asopus*. To this spot they resolved to move, in order that they might have abundance of water and be free from cavalry attacks when they went to fetch it. They decided upon the second watch in the night as the hour of action, lest the Persians should spy them out and send their cavalry to harass them. Their intention was also, when they had reached *Æroe*, daughter of *Asopus*, around whom flow the waters from *Cithaeron*, to despatch during this very night half of their army to *Cithaeron* to rescue their servants who had been sent to fetch provisions—for they had been cut off among the passes of *Cithaeron*.

LII. After these deliberations, they suffered all the rest of the day from unceasing cavalry charges. But when day began to fade and the charges stopped, and night had come on and with it the appointed hour, the majority raised their camp and began to move. The greater part had no intention of reaching the spot indicated. In fact, as soon as they felt the army in movement some of them were so glad to escape the Persian cavalry, that they fled to the city of *Plataea*, and reached the *Heraeum*. This is situated about twenty stades from the spring *Gargaphia* in front of the city. Here before the shrine they drew up in line.

LIII. Thus they encamped near the *Heraeum*, but *Pausanias*, who noticed that they had left their old posts, ordered the *Lacedemonians* to arm themselves and follow them, thinking that they had gone to the chosen spot. All the leaders were ready to obey orders, when *Amompharetus*, son of *Poliades*, who led the *Pitanetan* chosen band, said that he would not retreat before foreigners, and voluntarily disgrace *Sparta*, and he was amazed at what was taking place seeing that he had taken no part in the previous deliberations. *Pausanias* and *Euryanax* were much annoyed that he would not obey them, and were still more grieved because his band remained with him. They feared that if the other *Hellenes* went as had been agreed, *Amompharetus* and his comrades would inevitably perish. While discussing this point, they called a halt and endeavoured to convince *Amompharetus* that his attitude was most unreasonable.

LIV. While they were telling him that he alone of all the Lacedemonians and Tegeans would be conspicuously left behind, the Athenians employed this device. They halted where they stood, well knowing that Lacedemonians' deeds and words did not always coincide. When the camp was raised, they sent a horseman to see if the Spartiatae were in movement or if they intended to remain as they were, and in any case, to ask further orders from Pausanias.

LV. The herald came up, and found that the Lacedemonians had halted while their leaders disputed. Pausanias and Euryanax were occupied in persuading Amompharetus that it was absurd to remain and expose his following to inevitable destruction. They were not very successful, and it was at this precise moment while they were thus wrangling that the Athenian herald arrived. At last Amompharetus became excited, and taking up a stone with both hands, he laid it at the feet of Pausanias, crying out: "Here is my vote against retreat before these strangers." (The Lacedemonians, as I observed, call barbarians "strangers.") Pausanias retorted by calling him a fool and a madman, and turned his attention to the Athenian herald, who spoke as he had been ordered. He bade the herald tell the Athenians what was happening, and requested that they should close up to the Spartiatae with a view to concerted movement.

LVI. Whereupon he returned to the Athenians. Dawn found the Lacedemonians still in argument, for Pausanias had halted, hoping that Amompharetus would not remain when he saw all the other Lacedemonians on the march, which actually occurred. He gave the order to his troops, and followed traversing the hills, and after him came the Tegeans. The Athenians in battle array took a different road to the Lacedemonians, who confined themselves to the hilly ground at the foot of Cithaeron in apprehension of cavalry attacks: the Athenians marched in the plain.

LVII. Amompharetus, who had at first thought that Pausanias would never find it in his conscience to leave them, was determined to keep his men where they were. Yet when he saw the greater part of the army in movement, he perceived that he was left behind in earnest, whereupon

he ordered his men to take up their arms, and led them leisurely along the track of the other Lacedemonians. They were already ten stades away, and halted to await the arrival of Amompharetus by the River Moloeis in the district called Argiopion, where stands a temple of Eleusinian Demeter. Here they waited, in order that they might go to the assistance of Amompharetus and his men, if they remained at their former post. However, Amompharetus and his band came up, because the whole barbarian cavalry fell on them. The cavalry were merely pursuing once more their customary tactics: but when they saw that the Hellenes had evacuated their ancient position, they urged their horses on, and started in pursuit of Amompharetus.

LVIII. Mardonius perceived that the Hellenes had retreated under cover of night and left their post empty, whereat he called Thorax of Larissa, and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius. "Sons of Alenas," said he, "what will you say about this deserted spot? You, their neighbours, told me that the Lacedemonians never retreat from battle, and are warriors of the highest valour. You saw them changing their positions but a short while ago, and now, under cover of night, they have completely departed. They have demonstrated that when it was the hour to engage in battle with those who are indeed the bravest warriors on earth, their worth is nugatory among Hellenes who are likewise unworthy. I can, however, readily pardon your errors, for praising some of their actions, since you know nothing of the Persians' power from personal experience. But I am amazed that Artabazus feared the Lacedemonians, and gave me such futile advice, as to quit our camp, and retreat to Thebes, there to be besieged. I shall report it to the King. Enough of this, for the present. We must not allow the Hellenes to retreat in peace; they must be pursued until they be seized and made to pay us the penalty for all their aggression."

LIX. With these words he led the Persians at a double across the Asopus, hot upon the heels of the departing Hellenes, but his attack was directed only against the Lacedemonians and Tegeans. The Athenians who were marching in the plain were hidden from sight by the hills. When the other

barbarian leaders saw the Persians hotly engaged in pursuit of the Hellenes, straightway they took up their standards and charged with all speed in a disorderly mass, with tumult of much shouting, and considered that the Hellenes were an easy prey.

LX. Pausanias, meanwhile, pressed by the cavalry, despatched a horseman to the Athenians and said: "Men of Athens, a struggle which means either freedom or slavery for Hellas cannot be insignificant. We, Lacedemonians, and you also have been betrayed by our allies who have fled during the night that is now past. This is what we must do. We must render each other mutual assistance, and display a bravery that is worthy of us. Had the cavalry attacked you first, we and the Tegeans with us would have saved you and come to your aid. But their whole energy is directed against ourselves, and we beg you to assist that quarter which is most in difficulties. If you yourselves are likewise hard pressed, have the nobleness to send us your archers. We know by what has happened in this war, that your zeal is pre-eminent, and we rely on your support."

LXI. The Athenians responded gallantly to this appeal, and determined to assist the Lacedemonians with might and main. They had begun their march, when the hostile Hellenes who were of the Persian force, attacked them and prevented further advance, causing them much loss. Thus the Lacedemonians and Tegeans were isolated. They numbered with light armed troops fifty thousand, while the Tegeans were but three thousand, and invariably marched with the Lacedemonians. They sacrificed before engaging in conflict with Mardonius and his army. The omens were not propitious, and many of them fell, and many more were wounded. The Persians, forming a kind of hedge with their bucklers, discharged an inexhaustible supply of arrows, whereat Pausanias who saw the Spartiatae sadly distressed, and the sacrifices still unfavourable, turned his eyes to the Heraeum at Plataea, and called on the goddess, praying that the Hellenes should not be disappointed of their hopes.

LXII. Before he finished these invocations, the Tegeans began first, and hurled themselves on the barbarians,



and straightway, after the prayer of Pausanias, the sacrifices became favourable. The Lacedemonians too, charged the Persians, who in order to resist the attack laid down their bows. The first wave of battle dashed against the rampart of bucklers. This fell, and fighting waxed long and furious by the shrine of Demeter, until it became a hand-to-hand struggle. The barbarians seized the spears and broke their shafts. The Persians were in no way inferior to the Hellenes in courage and strength, but they had no defensive armour, they were ignorant of military discipline, and were less adroit than their adversaries. They charged singly, in bodies of ten, or in a mass, and were slain on reaching the Spartiatae.

LXIII. The battle was hottest where Mardonius himself, at the head of a thousand chosen Persian warriors, was conspicuous on his white horse. So long as Mardonius survived, they stubbornly repelled the Lacedemonian attack. But when Mardonius fell, and with him the noblest warriors of Persia, the rest gave way and fled before the Lacedemonian attack. They were most at a disadvantage owing to the absence of defensive armour. In fact, they were fighting practically unarmed against men protected from head to foot.

LXIV. Thus, according to the oracle, was retribution given for the death of Leonidas by the fall of Mardonius, and Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, son of Anaxandrides, won the finest victory whereof the world holds record. I have mentioned previously the names of the ancestors of Leonidas; they are the same for both victors. Mardonius was slain by Aïmnestus, a notable Spartiate, who, some time after the Persian War, attacked Stenyclerus with three hundred men, during a struggle with the Messenians, and himself was slain and with him the three hundred.

LXV. At Plataea, the routed Persians fled in disorder, to their camp and to the wooden rampart which they had built in the Theban territory. I wonder why no Persian entered the precincts of Demeter's shrine, seeing that fighting took place close by it. No one was slain there, but a vast number fell hard by on unsanctified ground. I suggest, if I am permitted to hold an opinion about supernatural



things, that the goddess herself refused them entrance because they had burnt her holy temple at Eleusis.

LXVI. Such then was the result of this battle. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had disapproved from the first of the King's decision to leave Mardonius in Hellas, had often endeavoured without success to dissuade him from fighting. He acted in the way I am about to relate, because Mardonius' conduct did not please him. Artabazus commanded a considerable force, some forty thousand men, and when the battle began, he realised what the result was going to be. He ranged them in front and ordered them to follow him wherever he led them, so soon as they saw him begin a rapid march. This he said to give the idea that they were going to join battle. But, being in advance, he saw the Persians in flight. Whereupon, he abandoned all order, and fled with all possible speed, not to the wooden rampart nor to the Theban walls, but to the Phocians, having a fierce desire to cross to the Hellespont.

LXVII. By this road, then, he escaped. The majority of the medising Hellenes displayed little energy in their struggle with the Athenians, the Boeotians alone offering a sturdy resistance. But the turncoat Thebans fought with furious zeal, so that three hundred of their bravest were slain by the Athenians. They were routed and fled to Thebes, not by the same road as the Persians. The remnant of the allies neither fought nor stood their ground, but made off with all speed.

LXVIII. It is obvious to my mind that the barbarians depended for success entirely upon the Persians, because without attempting fight they fled directly they saw the Persians in flight. All fled save the cavalry, Boeotian and otherwise. The former performed great services for the fugitives, by approaching between the enemy and their friends and drawing off the Hellene attack. The victors stayed not their hand but pursued the followers of Xerxes, caught them and slew them.

LXIX. During the panic, word was brought to the other Hellenes who were stationed by the Heraeum, some distance from the field of battle, that a fight had taken place and Pausanias was victorious. On hearing this, they broke

their ranks ; the Corinthians rushed across the hilly ground straight up to the temple of Demeter ; the Megarians and Phliasians pursued the most level road across the plain. When the latter came in touch with the enemy, the Theban horsemen caught sight of them, and observing that they were in disorder attacked them with Asopodorus, son of Timander, at their head. Six hundred they slew and drove the rest headlong to Mount Cithaeron. Thus they perished ignominiously.

LXX. The Persians and the rest of the army reached the wooden rampart, and managed to enter the forts before the Lacedemonians arrived, and barricaded themselves as best they could. The Lacedemonians were unable to overcome the powerful resistance which the enemy offered from the walls. While the Athenians were still not come, they resisted with success the efforts of the Lacedemonians, who had no knowledge of siege manœuvres. But when the Athenians came, the matter became more serious, and the resistance more stubborn. At length the courage and skill of Athens prevailed, and they mounted the fortifications and threw them down ; the Hellenes rushed in through the breach. The first to enter were the Tegeans. They seized the tent of Mardonius, all his harness, the stable for the horses, which was all of bronze, a wonderful spectacle. This stable the Tegeans dedicated at the shrine of Athene Alea, and the remainder they brought to the spot where the other Hellenes had collected the booty. After the fall of their ramparts, the barbarians fought promiscuously : they forgot their former courage : fearful panic came upon them, in this narrow place, and many thousands were slain. The Hellenes had only to strike, so that not three thousand were left out of an army of three hundred thousand, counting the forty thousand who escaped with Artabazus. Of the Spartiates there fell in all ninety-one, of the Tegeans sixteen, of the Athenians two and fifty.

LXXI. On the barbarian side, the Persian infantry stood out pre-eminent, to which summit of excellence attained the Sacian cavalry. For personal superiority Mardonius gained the palm. On the Hellene side, without wishing to disparage the efforts of the Tegeans and Athenians, the highest valour

was displayed by the Lacedemonians. My only demonstration of this, seeing that all three were victorious, is the fact that the latter opposed the flower of Persia and triumphed over it. In my opinion, individually Aristodemus stands out, who, being the sole survivor of the three hundred at Thermopylae, had been the object of universal scorn. After him, in order of merit, came Poseidonius, Philocyon and Amompharetus, all Spartiates. Yet when in conversation the question was asked "Who was the bravest?" the Spartiatae who were present said that Aristodemus, because he openly wished to die in order to escape the cloud under which he lived, left the ranks and performed reckless deeds of daring, but Poseidonius who had no desire to die, had yet shown himself a brave man: for this reason, therefore, he was superior. It is probable that envy dictated these remarks. All those that I have mentioned were honoured for dying on the field of battle, but this was denied to Aristodemus because he had wished to die owing to the disgrace into which he had fallen.

LXXII. Such then are the names most memorable for the day of Plataea. Callicrates died away from the field of battle. He was the most beautiful man who joined the Hellene camp, surpassing not only the Lacedemonians, but all the other Hellenes. While Pausanias was sacrificing, an arrow pierced his lungs, as he stood in the ranks. The battle then began, but he was carried aside, and felt sad at dying thus. Then he said to Arimnestus, a Plataean: "I do not regret that I am dying for Hellas, but that this good right arm has been idle, and wrought no worthy work of noble note, as I had desired to do."

LXXIII. Among the Athenians Sophanes, son of Euty-chides, obtained the highest praise. He was of the deme of Deceleia, and the men of Deceleia performed long ago services which are remarkable for all time, as the Athenians themselves admit. When of old, the Tyndaridae invaded Attic soil with a mighty army, they utterly broke up the demes, in their vain search for Helen: whereat the Deceleians, it is said, or according to another version Decelus himself, being angered with the insolence of Theseus, and fearing for the whole Athenian land, ex-

plained the whole story to them, and conducted them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, an inhabitant, handed over to them. At Sparta therefore for the Deceleians there still exists the right to the seat of honour and immunity from taxes. When, too, war afterwards embroiled the Athenians and Lacedemonians, though they plundered the rest of Attica, Deceleia was spared.

LXXIV. Sophanes, then, belonged to this deme, and there are two stories of his wonderful prowess at Plataea among the Athenians. One tells that he carried, attached by a bronze chain to the girdle of his breastplate, an iron anchor which he cast whenever he joined battle with the enemy, in order that they might not leave their ranks and dislodge him. If his foes fled, he picked up the anchor and pursued. The other version quite contradicts the story I have just given; the anchor was not fastened to his waistband, but was merely an emblem on his shield, which he kept turning in all directions and never allowed to rest.

LXXV. Sophanes performed another distinguished piece of bravery. When the Athenians were besieging Ægina, he challenged Eurybates the Argive, a prize-winner in the pentathlon, and slew him. Death came upon Sophanes, this brave man, some time after, when with Leagrus, son of Glaucon, he commanded the Athenians at Datus, in an expedition against the Edonians, to annex their gold mines.

LXXVI. After the barbarians had bitten the dust before the Hellenes at Plataea, a woman came to the latter. She was a deserter, and when she learnt of the Persian disaster, she got down from her chariot. I must mention that she was the concubine of Pharandates, son of Teaspes, a Persian, and was magnificently adorned with gold, both she and her attendants, and their dresses were superb. Though the Lacedemonians were still occupied in slaughter, she observed that Pausanias directed all the proceedings, and having heard his name and country often before, she recognised him, and came and clasped his knees, saying: "King of Sparta, save me, your suppliant, from slavery imposed by defeat. You have already done me service in destroying these men who respect neither gods nor demons. I am of a family in Cos, the daughter of Hegetorides, son of Anta-

goras. The Persians carried me from Cos by force and kept me." He replied : "Woman, take heart. Seeing that you are a suppliant, and more so if it be indeed true that you are the daughter of Hegetorides of Cos, who was my greatest friend in that island." He then handed her to the charge of two attendants, and afterwards sent her to Ægina where she wished to live.

LXXVII. Directly the woman had departed, there arrived some Mantineans, after everything was over. Perceiving that they had come too late for the battle, they professed great distress and said that they deserved to be put to death. Hearing that some Medes had fled with Artabazus, they wished to pursue them into Thessaly, but the Lacedemonians forbade them to follow the fleers. On returning to their country, they condemned their generals to banishment. After the Mantineans came the Eleans, and after expressing sorrow as the Mantineans had done, they returned. They similarly banished their generals. I have said enough about them.

LXXVIII. In the Æginetan camp at Plataea there was one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a notable citizen. He conceived a most iniquitous idea, and went eagerly to Pausanias, and spoke as follows :— "Son of Cleombrotus, you have gained a glorious and wonderful success ; doubtless Heaven decreed that in saving Hellas, you should acquire unparalleled glory among men. Finish now your work so well begun, that your fame may increase, and that no barbarian in after times shall dare to outrage the Hellenes. When Leonidas fell at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and had it impaled. Pay him back as he gave, and your praises will be sung by all the Spartiatae, nay more, by all the Hellenes. By impaling Mardonius, you will avenge your uncle Leonidas." Thus he spake, hoping to ingratiate himself.

LXXIX. Pausanias answered : "Stranger from Ægina, your foresight and good intentions are praiseworthy, but your advice is unfortunate. In fact, after exalting me, my country, and the victory to the skies you debase me by suggesting that I should insult a corpse, and saying that my fame will be fairer if I do this. That kind of



thing becomes a barbarian, not a Hellene, and even then is blameworthy. I do not wish to acquire popularity among the Æginetans by such means, nor among those who love such outrages. I am respected by the Spartiatae only by acting and speaking honourably. Leonidas, whom you bid me avenge, has, I say, been mightily avenged, both he and his three hundred, with all these countless lives that have been lost to-day. Never approach me, never speak to me again, but be thankful to return unpunished."

LXXX. The Æginetan went his way. Pausanias announced through a herald that no one should touch the booty, and ordered the helots to collect all the valuable things. They dispersed throughout the camp, and found tents embroidered with gold and silver, gilded and silvered couches, golden bowls, drinking cups and craters. On the chariots they discovered sacks in which were gold and silver goblets. From the scattered corpses they drew off the bracelets, necklaces, and took their scimitars, all of gold; embroidered garments attracted no one. Then the helots stole many precious objects and sold them to the Æginetans, and many others they delivered up since they could not hide them. This was the beginning of the Æginetan wealth, because they bought gold from the helots saying that it was bronze.

LXXXI. The booty was collected, and a tenth dedicated to the god at Delphi, from which a golden tripod was made, which stands near the altar, upon the three-headed bronze serpent. For the god at Olympia, a ten-cubit bronze statue of Zeus, and for the deity at the Isthmus, they gave a seven-cubit bronze figure of Poseidon. The rest they divided, giving to each according to his desert, the concubines, the gold, the silver, the baggage animals of the Persians. There is no mention of any particularly chosen gift for those who had just distinguished themselves in this battle. Pausanias received ten of everything, wives, horses, talents, camels, and other treasures.

LXXXII. I have now another story to relate. Xerxes is said to have left behind his tent for Mardonius when he fled from Hellas. It was adorned with gold and silver, and cloth of various colours. Pausanias saw it, and bade

the cooks and bakers prepare a supper for him as they did for Mardonius. They obeyed. Pausanias gazed on the gold and silver couches beautifully covered, and the gold and silver tables, and the magnificent appearance of the banquet, and, being amazed, ordered in derision some of his own followers to prepare a Laconian meal. Great was the contrast between the two repasts. Whereupon Pausanias sent for the Hellene generals. When they came, he pointed out the spreads to them and spoke as follows :—"Men of Hellas, I have summoned you for this reason. I wished to demonstrate to you the folly of the Mede, who, habituated to all these luxuries, came to conquer us, who live in such misery, and take it from us." So goes the tale.

LXXXIII. Some time after this, however, many of the Plataeans discovered coffers filled with gold and silver. After this, too, while collecting the bones after the flesh had perished from them, they found a skull with no suture, but all of one bone. The lower and upper jaw and the teeth were all in one piece ; and there, too, was found the skeleton of a man five cubits long.

LXXXIV. On the second day after the battle, the body of Mardonius disappeared. I cannot say precisely who took it. Many men from many nations have all told me that they buried Mardonius, and I knew that many received goodly offerings from Artontes, son of Mardonius, for their kindly services. Yet I cannot say who did take the body away and bury it. There is a rumour that it was Dionysiophanes, an Æphesian.

LXXXV. At anyrate, he was buried. The Hellenes, after dividing the booty, buried their dead, each nation apart. The Lacedemonians built three sepulchres. In the one they placed the Irenes (young men under twenty years of age), among whom were Poseidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon and Callicrates. In the second were the rest of the Spartiatae, in the third, the helots. The Tegeans buried all together, the Athenians did the same, and the Megarians and Phliasians the men that they had lost through cavalry charges. These sepulchres were filled with corpses. The other tombs that are to be seen at Plataea are merely empty mounds, as I am informed, raised

by those who did not fight and were ashamed, in the hope of deceiving posterity. There is, for example, a tomb there of the Æginetans, which was erected ten years after the event by Cleades, son of Autodicus, a Plataean, at the request of the Æginetans whose proxenus he was.

LXXXVI. After burying their dead at Plataea the Hellenes decided to march against Thebes, and demand the surrender of the medisers, chief among them being Timegenides and Attaginus, who were the ringleaders in the matter. If they were not surrendered, they would not leave the city until it had fallen. Eleven days after the victory they appeared at Thebes, and besieged it, demanding the surrender of these two men. The Thebans refused, whereupon they ravaged the land, and began to storm the walls.

LXXXVII. Their depredations were unceasing. On the twentieth day Timegenides addressed the Thebans: "Men of Thebes," said he, "since the Hellenes have determined not to quit Thebes before they storm it, or receive us into their hands, let us then, before the land be totally devastated, give them money furnished by the community—for we all medised—if it be money they want and use us merely as a pretext. But if they want us, we will ourselves go to them and explain." They considered his remarks sound and to the point, and straightway sent a herald to Pausanias to say that they were willing to surrender the men.

LXXXVIII. On this condition, they capitulated. Nevertheless, Attaginus escaped from the city. His children were brought to Pausanias but he acquitted them of all guilt, saying that children had nothing to do with medism. As to the other prisoners surrendered by the Thebans, they hoped to defend themselves by means of judicious bribery. He suspected this, dismissed the army of allies, and brought them to Corinth where he put them to death.

LXXXIX. Such were the happenings at Thebes and Plataea. Artabazus meanwhile continued his retreat from Plataea. When he reached their country, the Thesalians received him hospitably, and asked him about the rest of the army, not knowing the Plataean disaster. Arta-

bazus, realising that if he told them all the truth on the matter, he ran a chance of perishing speedily, had from the first kept his mouth shut even to the Phocians, who, he thought, were the truth known, would only be too glad to attack him. So he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I, as you perceive, am hastening with all speed to Thrace, with this part of my army, on important affairs. You must expect to see Mardonius and his army shortly after me. Receive him well and feast him: you will never regret it." With these words he proceeded on his forced march through Thessaly and Macedonia right to Thrace, leaving the main road in his haste and traversing fields. Eventually he reached Byzantium, having left men behind cut off by the Thracians, or struck down by hunger and weariness. He crossed in ships from Byzantium.

XC. Thus he returned home once more to Asia, On the same day on which took place the victory at Plataea, was fought the battle of Mycale in Ionia. While the Hellene were anchored at Delos with the fleet commanded by Leutychides, the Lacedemonian, two messengers came to them from Samos: Lampon, son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras, son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras; they were sent secretly by the Samians, unknown to the Persian governor, and their tyrant Theomestor, son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had established as tyrant in Samos. They came to the admirals and Hegesistratus made a discursive speech, observing that if the Ionians only saw their fleet, they would revolt from Persia. and that the Persians would retire before them. Even if they did abide, the Hellenes would never have so easy a prey. He called on their common gods and besought them to save Hellas from slavery and repel the barbarian. Easy was this of accomplishment. Their ships sailed badly and were scarcely worthy to compete with the Hellene vessels. If they suspected some guile, he and his comrade were ready to remain on their boats as hostages.

XCI. The Samian was somewhat earnest in his observations, and Leutychides said to him—whether he wished to hear an omen—or was inspired really from heaven: "Stranger, what is your name?" He replied: "Hegesi-



stratus." Whereat, cutting short the Samian lest he should add to it, he said : " I accept the omen—Hegesistratus<sup>2</sup>—O stranger from Samos. Yet before we sail, do you and your companions give us some token that the Samians will indeed be our zealous allies."

XCII. The Samians suited the action to the word. They took oaths of alliance with the Hellenes. Whereat, they set sail. Leutychides took Hegesistratus with him, considering that his name was a good omen, That day the Hellenes rested : the following day the victims were favourable, Deiphonus, son of Euenius, an Apollonian—the Apollonia in the Ionian Gulf—officiating. His father Euenius had the adventure which I will now relate,

XCIII. In this Apollonia are sheep sacred to the sun. During day-time, they pasture by the river, which flowing from the Mount Lacmon traverses Apollonia and reaches the sea by the Orician Harbour. At night-time the richest and most estimable citizens guard them, each during a year. Owing to an oracle, the Apollonians value these sheep most highly. They are stabled in a court away from the city. Here once Euenius was watching. He went to sleep and some wolves got into the cave and killed sixty of the sheep. When he saw it, he said nothing, but held his peace, purposing to purchase and substitute others. But the Apollonians soon heard of it, and brought him to judgment, and ordered him to be blinded for sleeping during his watch. After blinding Euenius, no sheep produced young, and the soil became sterile. The citizens consulted the oracles at Delphi and Dodona about this calamity. The answer was—and the seers gave a similar reply—that they had unjustly blinded Euenius the guardian of the sacred sheep. The gods themselves had sent the wolves, and they would not cease avenging Euenius until they should pay such a penalty as he himself should deem fitting. When this had been obeyed, the gods themselves would give Euenius such a gift the possession of which would render him happy in the eyes of mankind.

XCIV. Such was the oracle. The Apollonians kept it secret, but ordered some of their citizens to obey the behests

<sup>2</sup> This means " leader of the army."



of Heaven. They came to Euenius, who was sitting on a long bench, and conversed on many subjects, until they began to sympathise with him about his misfortune. After artfully reaching this point, one of them asked him what reparation he would exact if the Apollonians were willing to make reparation for the wrong they had done him. He, being ignorant of the oracle, said that if they would give him the lands belonging to two citizens, which he knew to be the finest in Apollonia, and in addition the most beautiful house in the city, he would be satisfied. This would suffice him, and all resentment would then be laid aside. Then his companions said: "Euenius, according to the oracle, this restitution do the Apollonians make you for the loss of your sight." He was annoyed when he heard the whole story, and considered that he had been tricked. They bought the lands and house from their owners and gave them to him. Straightway after this he developed powers as a seer and became famous.

XCv. Deiphonus was son of this Euenius, and accompanied the Corinthians as seer. I have been told, too, that Deiphonus pretended to be the son of Euenius, and thus acquiring merit lent his services to the Hellenes, though in reality not his son.

XCvi. Since the victims were favourable, the fleet started from Delos in the direction of Samos. When they were near Calami in Samos, they cast anchor by the temple of Hera, and prepared for action. But the Persians who learnt of their approach, retreated with all their ships to the mainland, but allowed the Phoenicians to sail home. They decided, after deliberation, not to fight on sea, on the ground of numerical inequality. They sailed off to the continent that they might be covered by their land army which was at Mycale, a detachment being left by order of Xerxes to guard Ionia. It numbered sixty thousand, and was commanded by Tigranes, a man who exceeded all the Persians in beauty and stature. The admirals decided to put themselves under his protection, to beach the ships, and surround them with a wall of fortification, combining the advantages of a bulwark of defence for the ships and a haven of refuge for themselves.

XCvii. They acted on this decision, set sail, and, passing

the shrine of the Eumenides <sup>3</sup> in Mycale, reached Gaeson and Scolopis, where stands the shrine of Eleusinian Demeter, which Philistus, son of Pasicles, built when he went to found Miletus. He was a companion of Neleus, son of Codrus. Here they beached their vessels, and made a wall of circumvallation composed of logs and stones, by cutting down fruit-trees for this purpose. In front of the wall they constructed a pallisade. They prepared for a siege, or a successful battle, having taken into consideration both these eventualities.

XCVIII. When the Hellenes heard that the barbarians had departed to the mainland, they were annoyed, and thought that the enemy had escaped them. This produced temporary hesitation, and they vacillated between returning home or sailing on to the Hellespont. Eventually they abandoned both these alternatives, and decided to sail for the mainland. Cleared for action, with ladders and all necessary equipment, they sailed towards Mycale. When they neared the camp and no one came out to oppose them, and they saw the ships drawn up within the wall, and a great foot force on the shore, Leutychides first sailed by with a vessel, keeping as near to the shore as possible and sent word to the Ionians by means of a herald. "Men of Ionia," said he, "all you who can hear, listen to me. The Persians will not understand a word of what I am going to say. When we begin to fight, let each one think of Freedom before all things, and then of the watchword "Hebe." Let him who has heard my words, tell them to him who has not. In this crisis, Leutychides had the same idea as Themistocles before Artemisium. Either he would win over the Ionians by these words, which were incomprehensible to the barbarians, or else make them objects of suspicion.

XCIX. After the exhortation of Leutychides, the Hellenes ran their vessels ashore and disembarked. Here they formed their lines. Meanwhile the Persians as soon as they saw the Hellenes ready for battle after haranging the Ionians, became suspicious of a friendly feeling between the Hellenes and Samians and took away their arms.

<sup>3</sup> The word *πρῶτος* used here means "revered, holy"—and was the usual title of the Eumenides.

For the Samians, when the barbarians brought along some Athenian prisoners, which the followers of Xerxes had left deserted in Attica, ransomed them, gave them provisions and sent them back to Athens. Chiefly for this reason, then, they became regarded with suspicion, because they had ransomed five hundred of the foes of the great King. Then they entrusted the defiles into the mountains of Mycale to the guardianship of the Milesians, because they naturally knew the country best. Their reason was clear. They wished them outside the camp. After thus rendering ineffective those of the Ionians whom they deemed capable of attempting to injure themselves, the Persians joined their bucklers so that they formed for themselves a rampart.

C. When everything was ready, the Hellenes marched against the barbarians. While they advanced a rumour was passed from mouth to mouth, and there before the eyes of the whole army lay a herald's staff upon the shore. The rumour which suddenly was heard was that the Hellenes had defeated the army of Mardonius in Boeotia. It is obvious that in this matter there was something supernatural—the proofs are many—when we consider that the rumour of the Persian disaster at Plataea arrived on the very day when they were going to suffer another at Mycale, whereat the army was much emboldened and all the more eager to fight.

CI. Curious too it is that both fights should have taken place near a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. In Plataea, they fought hard by the very Demetrium itself, as I explained before, and in Mycale, it was going to be the same. The report of the victory of Pausanias spread everywhere, and moreover, it was true. The fight at Plataea took place early in the morning, at Mycale towards evening. But that the victories occurred on the same day of the same month was learnt some little time after. There was a certain apprehension before the rumour came, not on their own account, but lest Mardonius should engulf Hellas. When the report did come, they advanced all the more speedily. The Hellenes and barbarians charged to battle, the palm of victory being the supremacy over the islands and the Hellespont.

CII. The Athenians and the battalions with them, half of the army, proceeded on the road along the beach which was level, while the Lacedemonians and their division had to pass over hills and crevasses. While the Lacedemonians were still advancing, the other wing was engaged. So long as their bucklers stood the strain, the Persians resisted and were not worsted. But when the Athenians and their division pressed on the more eagerly with mutual exhortations in order to forestall the Lacedemonians in success, the whole face of the battle was changed. The buckler rampart was broken down, and they fell on the Persians in large bodies, who after a short resistance fled to the fortifications. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians and Troezenians (such was their order of formation) attacked the wall with one accord. When this was forced, the barbarians thought no more of fight but turned and fled promiscuously. The Persians alone remained. They, though thinned in rank, still fought against the continually attacking Hellenes. Then two of their generals fled, and two were slain. Artayntes and Ithamitres, leaders of the fleet, fled. Mardontes and Tigranes, who commanded the foot, were slain.

CIII. While the Persians were still resisting, the Lacedemonians came up with their division, and took part in the latter end of the battle. Many of the Hellenes fell, among them the Sicyonians and their general, Perilaus. The Samian officers who were in the Median camp and unarmed, perceived from the very beginning how fortune lay with the combatants, and spontaneously endeavoured to be useful to the Hellene army. When the other Ionians saw the Samians take the initiative, they deserted the barbarians, and fell on them furiously.

CIV. The Milesians had been ordered by the Persian generals to guard the passes, with a view to their own safety, so that if misfortune overtook them, as it did, they might have someone to guide them to the mountains of Mycale. The Milesians were therefore stationed here for that purpose, and also to prevent them doing any harm in the camp. They did the exact opposite to their commands, and conducted the fleers by by-paths which brought them into the arms of the enemy, and eventually slaughtered



these Persians themselves. Thus Ionia revolted from Persia for the second time.

CV. In this battle the Athenians excelled in merit all other Hellenes, and Hermolycus, son of Euthoenus, all other Athenians. He was a practised boxer and wrestler. Death overtook Hermolycus subsequently when the Athenians were fighting with the Carystians, at Cynus in Carystia near by Geraestus. After the Athenians came in order of merit the Corinthians, Troezenians and Sicyonians.

CVI. When the Hellenes had put an end to the greater number of fighting or fugitive barbarians, they set fire to their ships and the fortifications, and collected the booty on the shore, discovering many treasure coffers. After which they sailed away. When they reached Samos, they discussed the Ionian revolt, and considered that they should establish them in some spot where they were supreme, and abandon Ionia to the Persians. It seemed impossible for them always to protect and save the Ionians, without which assistance it could not be supposed that the Ionians would ever definitely free themselves from the Persian yoke. Therefore the Peloponnesian leaders advised the expulsion from Hellene ports of medising Hellenes, and the presentation of this territory to the Ionians. But the Athenians, maintained that there was no need to transplant them, and denied the right of the Peloponnesians to interfere with their colonies. The Peloponnesians eventually yielded to their vehement representations. Thus the Samians, Chians, Lesbians and other islanders, who were campaigning with the Hellenes, were incorporated in a confederacy, giving and receiving oaths of perpetual adherence to the alliance. This done, the fleet sailed out to destroy the bridges, for they thought that they would still find some intact.

CVII. They sailed to the Hellespont. The barbarians who had escaped to the fastnesses of Mycale, eventually reached Sardis. They were but a small band. While they were on the journey, Masistes, son of Darius, who had seen the disaster personally, attacked Artayntes the commander of the fleet, and loaded him with taunts, saying that he, a general, was worse even than a woman, and de-



served the severest penalty for dealing such a blow to the royal house. To be called more cowardly than a woman is, among the Persians, a most terrible insult. After listening to these insults, he became furious with Masistes and drew his sword to kill him. As he rushed on the King's son, it is said that Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a Halicarnassian, divined his intention, seized Artayntes from behind and catching him by the waist, lifted him up and hurled him to the ground. In the meantime, the guards placed themselves before Masistes. Xenagoras acquired by this action much honour with Masistes himself and Xerxes likewise, because he had saved his brother. For this reason Xenagoras was given Cilicia to rule. The rest of the march was devoid of incident and so they reached Sardis. The King happened to be at Sardis at that time, after he had left Athens, when defeated at sea.

CVIII. While in Sardis at that time, he became enamoured of the wife of Masistes who was likewise there. To his messages, however, she sent no reply, and he had no desire, out of regard for his brother, to use force. She knew too, that violence would not be used against her. Then Xerxes, employing guile, married his son Darius to the daughter of this woman of Masistes, thinking that this would facilitate matters. The marriage and ceremonies were no sooner accomplished than he left for Susa. Installed there, he introduced into his house the wife of Darius: but his love for the wife of Masistes began to wane, and he transferred his affections to the wife of Darius, the daughter of Masistes. She was called Artaynte.

CIX. As time went on, the matter was discovered in this way. Amestris, wife of Xerxes, wove a beautiful cloak of cunning workmanship and gave it to Xerxes. He was pleased, put it on, and went to see Artaynte. He was pleased with her too, and told her to ask him for any favour in return for the favours she had shown him. She should have whatever she required. Since fate decreed that misfortune should fall on this family, she said: "Will you give me whatever I ask? He, thinking that she would ask for something else, promised and swore. When he had sworn, she asked for the cloak. Xerxes tried not to give it her

from fear of Amestris, and the certitude that if she had suspicions before, this would confirm them assuredly. He said he would give her a city, untold gold, an army which she herself could command. An army is the usual Persian gift. But he failed, and had to give her the cloak. She was delighted with the gift, put it on, and admired herself in it.

CX. Then Amestris heard that she was wearing it. When she realised what had happened, she bore the woman no malice, but considered that her mother was to blame, and had done this. Therefore she planned the destruction of the wife of Masistes. She waited till her own husband Xerxes should give a royal banquet—this took place once a year on the King's birthday. In Persian tongue this feast is called "Tycta," but in Hellene it means "accomplished." At this feast the King alone has his head cleansed with perfume, and gives presents to the Persians. She waited for this day and then asked Xerxes to deliver to her the wife of Masistes. He felt deeply pained to deliver up the wife of his brother, for she was in no way guilty, though he understood why his wife wanted her.

CXI. But Amestris persisted, and he was compelled by a custom which does not permit a request made at the royal feast to be refused. In deep sorrow he gave his consent, and then spoke as follows:—"Masistes, you too are a son of Darius, and my brother, and further, you are a brave man. Leave the wife with whom you are now living, and I will give you my daughter. Live with her. But she who is now your wife, must be abandoned, I find this also fitting." To which Masistes answered in amazement: "Master, what unhappy suggestion is this? Do you bid me put away a wife, by whom I have had sons and daughters, one of whom has married your son—a wife whom I love with all my heart—do you bid me put her away and marry your daughter? Highly as I esteem the honour, my King, I shall do neither. Do not force me to do either. Let another man, no whit inferior to myself, marry your daughter, and permit me to live with my wife." Thus he answered but Xerxes became furious and said: "This, then, is what you think, Masistes.

I will not give you my daughter, nor shall you live longer with your wife. You will learn one day to accept my gifts." Masistes left, saying: "Master, you have not yet taken my life."

CXII. While Xerxes was talking with his brother, Amestris had sent for the guard of Xerxes, and was mutilating the wife of Masistes. She cut off her breasts and threw them to the dogs, and after likewise taking away her nose, ears, lips, and tongue, she sent her home in this mutilated condition.

CXIII. Masistes, who had heard nothing of this, having a presentiment of evil, ran to his house. There he beheld his wife thus destroyed, and taking counsel with his children he travelled to Bactria, with the hopes of making this province revolt and doing the King as much harm as he could. This he would have accomplished, I believe, had he got first to the Bactrians and Sacians. They loved him and he was governor of Bactria. But when Xerxes heard this he sent an army after him and slew him on the road, with his children and escort.

CXIV. Such was the history of the passion of Xerxes and the death of Masistes. The Hellenes started from Mycale to reach the Hellespont, and anchored first in Lectus, being driven thither by the wind. Thence they came to Abydos, and found that the bridge had been destroyed, which they thought to find intact, in fact this had been their chief reason for sailing to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians who were with Leutychides decided to sail back to Hellas, but the Athenians, and Xanthippus their commander, remained to try the Chersonese. The Peloponnesians sailed away, and the Athenians setting sail from Abydos, crossed to the Chersonese and besieged Sestos.

CXV. Sestos was the most strongly fortified town in that district. When they heard that the Hellenes were in the Hellespont, the people gathered thither from the outlying country, among whom came from the city of Cardia Ceobazus, a Persian, who had conveyed the material employed in making the bridges to that city. The garrison consisted chiefly of Æolians, and included many Persians, and numbers of varied allies.

CXVI. The governor of this province was Artayctes, a Persian of a savage and lawless disposition who had deceived even Xerxes on his march to Athens, in order to take from Elaeus the wealth of Protesilaus, son of Iphilcus. In Elaeus in the Chersonese is the tomb and shrine of Protesiles, where was much fine gold, goblets of gold and silver, bronze, garments and other votive offerings, which Artayctes stole by securing permission from the King. He deceived Xerxes by this wily language : " Master, there is here the house of a Hellene, who obtained the reward of death for his incursions into your territory. Will you give me his house, that people may learn not to invade your kingdom ? " With these fair words he could not fail to persuade the King, who knew nothing of his base designs. He had said that Protesilaus had invaded the King's territory for this purpose ; the Persians consider that Persia belongs to them and their reigning King. When his request was granted he conveyed the treasure from Elaeus to Sestos, and sowed and cultivated the sacred enclosure, and when he came to Elaeus, he lay with women in the precincts. The Athenians laid siege to him, being quite unprepared to stand a siege, and least of all expecting their arrival. They fell on him, in fact, unawares,

CXVII. Autumn came while the siege was still in progress. The Athenians were annoyed at being away from home, and their inability to take the rampart, and begged their generals to conduct them home. They refused to go before Sestos was taken, or they were recalled by the Athenian people. The army became resigned.

CXVIII. The beleaguered were now in sorry plight, and were compelled to cook and eat the laces of their beds. When these were gone, the Persians, Artayctes and Œobazus, escaped under cover of night by descending from the wall behind, where it was most deserted by the enemy. When day broke, the Chersonesans signalled from the wall to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates. The majority of the besiegers went in pursuit, but some occupied the city.

CXIX. The Apsinthian Thracians captured Œobazus who had made his way to Thrace, and sacrificed him to



Pleistorus, a local divinity, after their own fashion, and put to death his followers in a different way. The followers of Artayctes, who started somewhat later, were caught a little beyond Ægospotami; they made a stubborn resistance: some were slain, some were made prisoners. The Hellenes brought them back in chains to Sestos, and with them Artayctes and his son, likewise fettered.

CXX. The Chersonesans relate that the following curious incident occurred when one of their guards was cooking some salt fish. The salt fish stretched on the fire jumped about and wriggled like fish just newly caught. The spectators were amazed, but Artayctes, when he saw it, called the cooker of the fish and said: "Athenian stranger, do not be amazed at this portent. It is not for you but for me. It is Protesilaus who announces to me from Elaeus, that though dead and dried up, power is yet given him from heaven to take vengeance on the wrongdoer. Now I must pay the penalty for my deed of sacrilege. I will dedicate a hundred talents, to replace the money I took from his shrine, and as ransom for myself and my son, I will give the Athenians two hundred talents if they will but spare my life." But his promises had no weight with Xanthippus. The people of Elaeus had demanded the death of Artayctes to avenge Protesilaus, and the Athenian general was of like mind. They led him down to the shore where Xerxes had bridged the sea, or as some say to the hill above the city of Madytus; there they bound him to a scaffold and hanged him. His son was stoned before his eyes.

CXXI. After this, they sailed back to Hellas, taking the booty, the material of the bridges, in order to dedicate them in their temples. Nothing further took place this year.

CXXII. The ancestor of this Artayctes who was hanged, was a certain Artembares who made the following suggestion to the Persians, which they disclosed to Cyrus:—"Since Zeus gives supremacy to the Persians, and to you, O Cyrus, command of warriors, after the downfall of Astyages, take heart. We have a circumscribed country, one that is rough; but if we leave it, we shall find a better one. Our neighbours are many, and many there are still farther away;



if we take one, we shall be universally respected, as are those who are supreme. It is fitting that such successes should be honoured. When shall we get a better opportunity than when we command many nations and all Asia?"

When Cyrus heard this, he disapproved of the idea and said: "Do so, but prepare yourselves to be ruled, not to rule. For from luxurious lands come men who love luxury. The same land cannot be prolific in wonderful fruit and in mighty warriors." The Persians realised this truth, and were convinced by Cyrus. They preferred rather to rule in a barren, sterile country than to be slaves in cultivated land.

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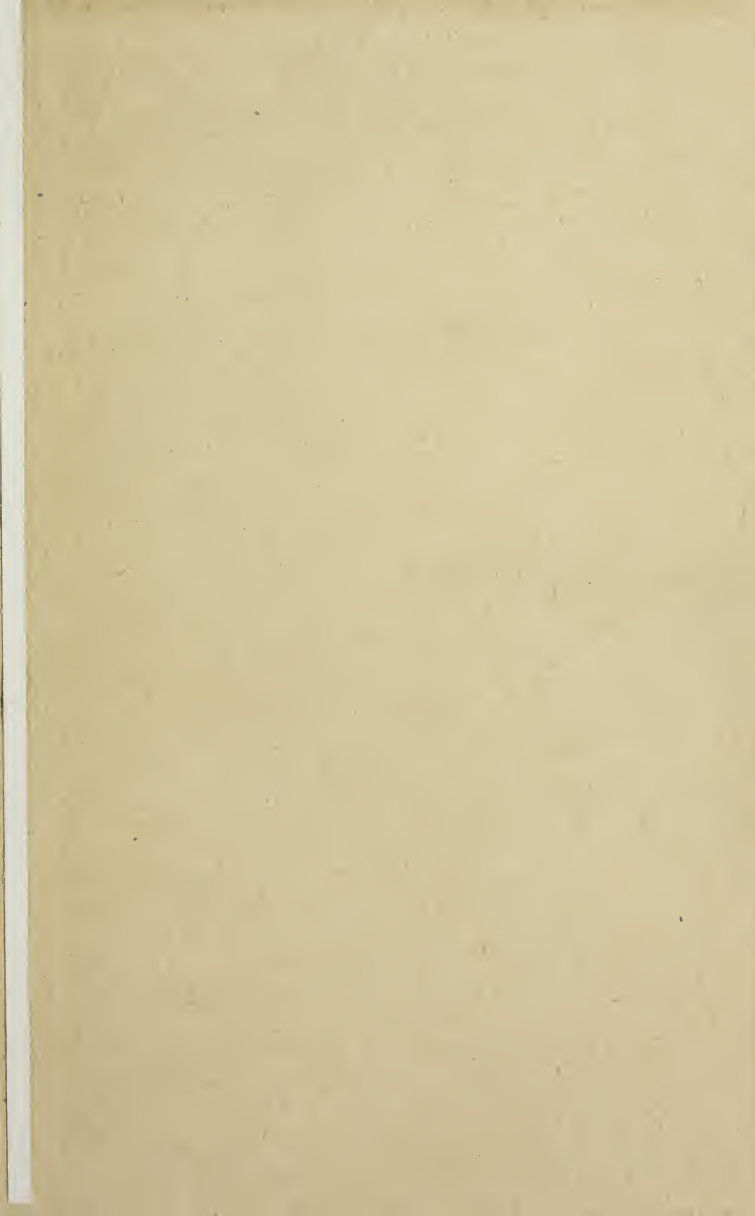
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